

STUDIES IN THE SECOND EPISTLE OF ST PETER

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BY

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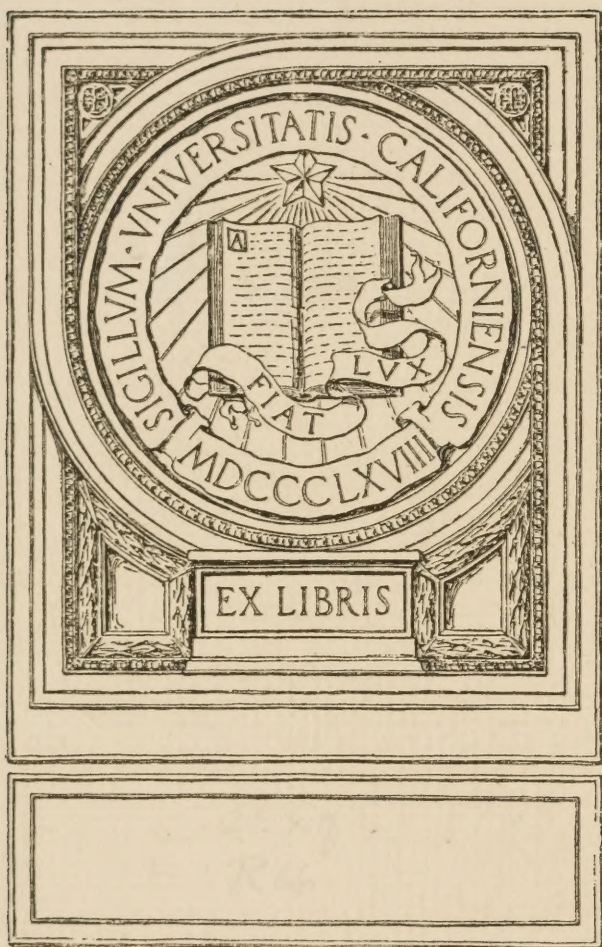
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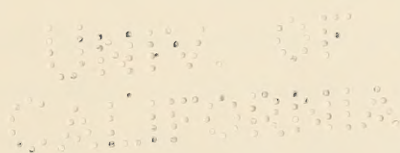
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Πέτρῳ ὃς πρὸς τὰς χρείας
ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας.

· The Elder' (*apud* Papiam).

οὐ πρὸς ἱατροῦ σοφοῦ
θρηνεῖν ἐπῳδὰς πρὸς τομῶντι πῆματι.

SOPH. *Aias* 581-2.

PREFACE

THESE Studies are published not as the last word on the problem of the "Second Epistle of St Peter," but in the firm belief that the solution of that problem lies at least along the lines here indicated. No new facts are brought forward; that would be indeed hard to do after the careful labours of both English and German writers, notably of two Cambridge scholars, Dr J. B. Mayor and the Bishop of Ely.

All available literature on the subject has been duly consulted; but the learned reader will easily perceive that this is a first venture beyond the Pillars of Hercules of one who has till now merely hugged the shores of a narrower sea.

If so slight a work had been worthy of a dedication, it would have been inscribed to two members of my own College, without whose more than kind encouragement it would not have seen the light—Dr Latimer Jackson and my brother, Ernest I. Robson. Both have given welcome help with the proofs.

E. I. R.

FELSTED, *March*, 1915.

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STUDIES IN THE "SECOND EPISTLE OF PETER"

I. THE PROBLEM OF THE EPISTLE.

ALL or nearly all available facts relating to this Epistle have been laid before us by the labours of Chase, Mayor, Spitta, Bigg, and others. The problem of the document, however, remains unsolved. On the conservative side we have the somewhat despairing shifts of Zahn and Spitta; on the other, we have a general consensus of opinion that the Epistle is wholly non-Petrine and of late date, but we have as yet no reasonable explanation why it should have been written at all. It has no visible "tendency"; it is not a polemical utterance. As a forgery or a pseudepigraphical document it has no satisfactory *raison d'être*, nor is there any reason why, as such, it should have been attributed to the Apostle Peter¹. Its relation to the Epistle of Jude is not satisfactorily explained by mere borrowing on either side or by the elaborate re-borrowing theory of Kühn (partially anticipated by Berthold, Gess, and others)².

It remains only to interrogate the Epistle itself in order to ascertain first, whether an analysis of the subject

¹ The arguments of Chase (*D.B.*) against Petrine authorship are equally arguments against "forgery" or even capable imitation.

² The various interpolation theories are set out by Cone (*Enc. Bibl.*).

matter suggests homogeneity of the Epistle; secondly, whether there is evidence of any cleavage of vocabulary or style between different portions of the Epistle; and thirdly, whether any result so obtained will give a reasonable explanation of the existence of the Epistle and of its relation, or the relation of a part of it, to the so-called Epistle of Jude.

It will be necessary to make these enquiries without actually assuming the genuineness of the First Epistle of Peter; though an attempt will be made to show that such genuineness is compatible with the facts of the Second Epistle.

II. ANALYSIS OF THE EPISTLE.

Preliminary Considerations.

The Epistle may have been

- (1) written as it stands by the Apostle Peter,
- (2) written pseudepigraphically as
 - (a) a "tendency" document,
 - (b) an essay in the Petrine manner, by a follower or admirer, or
- (3) it may be a composite work.

Of these 2 (a) can hardly be regarded seriously. As a pamphlet 2 Peter would be a lamentable failure.

If we accept 1 or 2 (b) we should look for a document on set lines and with a definite object. Such a document might be

- (i) a general epistle on the scheme of Christian "salvation,"
- (ii) a series of brief references to questions of the day,
- (iii) an answer to enquiries made by the recipients,

(iv) a personal epistle of apology, self-justification or warning.

2 Peter steps into none of these niches. It stands neither with 1 Peter (i) nor with Jude (iv) nor with 1 Cor. (iii). It is a thing of shreds and patches; it passes, by what seem to be happy-go-lucky sutures, from exhortation to narrative, narrative to prophecy, prophecy to apocalyptic. We leave it with an air of puzzle and dissatisfaction.

The analysis which follows deals mainly with these transitions and breaks of thought of the Epistle.

I. Salutation. i. 1-5*a*.

Here there seems to be some confusion of the pronouns, on which see below p. 50 ff.

II. A moral exhortation. i. 5*b*-11.

The transition is abrupt.

The close of verse 4 suggests as the great Christian aim; first, escape from the world's corruption; secondly, the partaking of the Divine nature. These thoughts are not followed up. The section before us deals with a positive aspect of moral growth which will fit us for knowledge—*ἐπιγνωσις*—but it does not look forward to any mystical union with the Divine nature.

Moreover the salutation is conceived in a frigid and conventional, if not undignified, fashion¹; the exhortation of 5*b*-11, if also on stereotyped or conventional lines, is full of genuine fire and energy; *σπουδή* is its keyword. A modern writer or preacher passing thus rapidly from the one style to the other might arrest, but would probably puzzle, his hearers.

¹ Deissmann has pointed out its affinities with formal inscriptional language (*Bible Studies*, i. pp. 277f.).

Thirdly, the salutation regards *ἐπίγνωσις* as something now present with us; the section before us regards it as something in the distance, a goal at the end of a long progress.

Next, with the particle *διό*, we pass to

III. A personal statement, *vv.* 12-15, following naturally upon the preceding passage, and passing again quite naturally to a personal narrative (*vv.* 16-18).

The next sentence, *vv.* 19-21, if we regard the Epistle as a whole, cannot be absolved from jerkiness and inconsequence. It reads as if some happy thought had just struck the writer. Nothing has prepared us for "The Prophetic Word," of which the passage just preceding is conceived as giving us "greater confirmation."

There is, moreover, an awkwardness in the pronouns. "We" in verse 18 refers to the witnesses of the Transfiguration; in verse 19 "we" (unemphatic) is purely general in reference.

Some break therefore between verses 18 and 19, as between verses 4 and 5, and upon similar grounds, appears probable.

The analysis then continues:

IV. An introductory sentence to "The Prophetic Discourse." *v.* 19.

V. "The Prophetic Discourse¹." i. 20-ii. 19, dealing chiefly with a description of false prophets.

There is no structural break between i. 21 and ii. The connection of thought is:

"We get fuller confirmation of 'The Prophetic Discourse.' There is, as everyone knows, true prophecy, but there were, are, and will be again, false prophets."

¹ See pp. 44 ff.

The last phrase ("there will be false prophets") appears also in Mc. xiii. 22 as paving the way for an apocalyptic passage. Apocalyptic seems always to demand some sort of opening apology.

VI. A comment upon, and amplification of, the preceding statement that sin is slavery. ii. 20-22.

Except as a comment, this passage does not fit in with the Prophetical passage, nor does it serve as an introduction to what follows. It closes, indeed, with two conventional proverbs of a vulgar type, which have the air of being dragged in to end the section.

VII. A second personal explanation. iii. 1, 2.

Here we are on much-vexed ground. If we have had abruptness before, we have it much more pronounced here. There is little, if anything, to suggest connection in what immediately precedes, or with what immediately follows.

VIII. A continuation of prophecy, merging into apocalypse. iii. 3-13.

After the fine climax of verse 13—surely a concluding verse—we have

IX. Final warnings and exhortation. iii. 14-18.

An exhortation, that is, to peaceful virtue and a rooted distrust of the "scoffers." It is backed by a reference to St Paul.

III. REMARKS UPON THE ABOVE ANALYSIS.

If the writer throughout be one and the same person, his idea of an epistle is indeed mysterious. He is guilty of abrupt transition, sudden shifts of meaning in his personal pronouns, and two (at least) examples of serious anticlimax. He is almost without literary sense.

As for the subject matter, let who will regard the Epistle as homogeneous. It is most difficult to suppose the Apostle—still more difficult to suppose a "forger," or an admirer, deliberately composing such a farrago. Suppose, however, certain fragmentary passages, worth preserving, to have been welded together by comments, introductions, conclusions, specially written for the purpose, the only unity at which the writer (or editor) would aim, and his readers expect, would be the unity which the cement imparts to the imperfect fragments of sculpture which we may see pieced together in the porch of a church. It is unity of this kind alone which the present writer can find in the Epistle, and the result of our analysis and study of the connections of the document will for the remainder of this essay be regarded as a working hypothesis to be verified in different ways.

Out of the document, as a whole so heterogeneous, can be taken four passages in themselves entirely homogeneous and to the point. There is a vigorous piece of moral exhortation, cast in a form convenient for learning by heart, viz. a "ladder of virtues"¹ (i. 5b-11); there is an autobiographical gospel fragment (i. 16-18) laying obvious stress upon presence in the "Holy Mount," and the hearing of a voice, as apostolic credentials; there is a "prophetical discourse" (i. 20-ii. 19) and there is an apocalyptic passage (iii. 3-13). *Κήρυγμα—Εὐαγγέλιον—Προφητεία—'Αποκάλυψις*; is it a mere chance that three of these four, "Preaching," "Apocalypse," "Gospel," coming to us under the name of the Apostle Peter, are precisely what later ages conceived him to have written,

¹ Compare Shepherd of Hermas, Visio III. 8, Similitudo IX. 15, for similar "Tugendreihen," not copied from 2 Peter, as Grosch suggests.

and "forged" for him? Is it not at least possible that in these we have the genuine germs of what later were developed into apocryphal writings in his name?

At present this must remain a suggestion only; but an attempt will be made in the following pages to show that these passages stand apart from the rest of the Epistle in thought, style, and vocabulary¹.

What then of the rest of the Epistle? Every portion now fits into place into the mosaic. Someone (whom we must for convenience begin to distinguish as the editor, or E, as opposed to the four sections which, passing for Petrine, will be designated as P) introduces, connects, comments upon, winds up, passages not his own, in a manner which has indeed an element of much artificially but certainly no undue clumsiness. First, he prefixes, quite honestly², a formal salutation in the name of Peter. He introduces the subject of Prophecy with a skilful sentence looking both backward and forward: he closes it with a natural, if not very literary, comment. After

¹ Partition or interpolation theories (Grotius, Berthold, Lange, and Kühl—with whose conclusions those of this essay will in part agree—and others) usually confine themselves to ch. ii only. Chase argues "there cannot be said to be any difference of style between ch. ii and the rest of the Epistle." If he had said "and the bulk of the rest of the Epistle" he would have expressed the underlying principle of the present essay. Grosch (*Die Echtheit des II Briefes Petri*², Leipzig, 1914), while battling for Petrine authorship, yet regards chh. ii and iii 15b-18 as a later insertion by the author, in view of disturbing news just received.

² "Editors" are commonly honest even to stupidity. Italian Literature (Symonds, *Age of the Despots*, pp. 188 and 189) gives us authors apparently referring to their own deaths. Servius' Commentary on Vergil, "stupidly re-edited" (Comparetti, *Virgilio nel Medio Evo*, I, p. 75), makes the author quote himself ("ut Servius dicit" Serv. ad Ecl. I. 12). Such instances do not need multiplying.

giving his reasons for preferring Apostolic citations to his own efforts (iii. 1, 2), he quotes a passage certainly not his own, for the opening words are from the *προφητικὸς λόγος*, also cited by Clement of Rome. At the conclusion of this passage, he writes an Epilogue which most skilfully sums up all that has gone before; "Be zealous (see i. 5) in virtuous living; do not be led astray on the subject of the *παρουσία* (see ii. 1, 2, iii. 3*b*, 1) but grow in grace and knowledge (see i. 5*b*, 8)."

The whole he throws into Epistolary form, and for a reason which we must admit is not obvious, divides the subject into two letters, correctly described as "reminders," both based upon apostolic utterances (iii. 1, 2) and apparently both despatched to the same readers at the same time.

These points, mentioned by anticipation, will be dealt with in detail later.

There follows next the text of the document in which those passages assigned in the foregoing analysis to the Editor or Redactor (E) are in heavy type.

IV. THE EPISTLE.

(i) *Text; E marked by heavy type.*

The text following is the Textus Receptus, with variations of W.-H. given beneath¹.

¹ Liberty has been taken to deviate from the punctuation of T.R. in i. 1, 2, 21, and ii. 13 in order to show the connections as understood in the analysis. In i. 5, 19, 20, iii. 3 capitals have been written. -ν has been added to verb terminations of the indicative, and οὕτως is written (i. 11) for οὕτω. Immaterial divergences of punctuation, accentuation, or type (e.g. i. 22, ii. 8) in W.-H. are not given.

In cases where the choice of text affects the argument of the present essay, a special note is given later on; as also some special notes on the state of the text and upon possible "primitive errors." It does not, however, belong to the province of the present "studies" to discuss in detail the textual problems which do not directly affect the argument.

Zahn (*Einleitung*² p. 87) gives corrections of and additions to Tischendorf's *apparatus*.

ΠΕΤΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑ.

1 Συμεὼν Πέτρος δοῦλος καὶ ἀπόστολος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῖς
 ἱσότημον ἡμῖν λαχοῦσιν πίστιν ἐν...δικαιοσύνῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ
 2 σωτῆρος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνῃ πληθυνθείῃ ἐν ἐπι-
 3 γνώσει τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν, ὡς πάντα ἡμῖν τῆς
 θείας δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ τὰ πρὸς ζωὴν καὶ εὐσέβειαν δεδωρημένης, διὰ τῆς
 4 ἐπιγνώσεως τοῦ καλέσαντος ἡμᾶς διὰ δόξης καὶ ἀρετῆς, δι' ὧν τὰ
 μέγιστα ἡμῖν καὶ τίμια ἐπαγγέλματα δεδώρηται, ἵνα διὰ τούτων
 γένησθε θείας κοινωνοὶ φύσεως, ἀποφυγόντες τῆς ἐν κόσμῳ ἐπι-
 5 θυμίας φθοράς. καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο δέ, Σπουδὴν πᾶσαν παρεισενέγκαν-
 τες, ἐπιχορηγήσατε ἐν τῇ πίστει ὑμῶν τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἐν
 δὲ τῇ ἀρετῇ τὴν γνῶσιν, ἐν δὲ τῇ γνῶσει τὴν ἐγκράτειαν,
 6 ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐγκρατεῖᾳ τὴν ὑπομονήν, ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑπομονῇ τὴν

W.-H. Title: ΠΕΤΡΟΥ Β

i. 1 Σίμων [marg. ΣΥΜΕΩΝ]

3 marg. ἰδίᾳ δόξῃ κ. ἀρετῇ 4 τὰ τίμια κ. μέγιστα ἡμῖν ἐπαγγ.
 ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ

7 εὐσέβειαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ τὴν φιλαδελφίαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ
 8 φιλαδελφίᾳ τὴν ἀγάπην. ταῦτα γὰρ, ὑμῖν ὑπάρχοντα καὶ
 πλεονάζοντα, οὐκ ἄργους οὐδὲ ἀκάρπους καθίστησιν εἰς
 9 τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπίγνωσιν· ᾧ γὰρ
 μὴ πάρεστιν ταῦτα, τυφλὸς ἐστι, μυωπάζων, λήθην λαβὼν
 10 τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ τῶν πάλαι αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτιῶν. Διὸ μᾶλλον,
 ἀδελφοί, σπουδάσατε βεβαίαν ὑμῶν τὴν κλῆσιν καὶ ἐκ-
 λογὴν ποιεῖσθαι· ταῦτα γὰρ ποιοῦντες οὐ μὴ πταίσητέ
 11 ποτε. οὕτω γὰρ πλουσίως ἐπιχορηγηθήσεται ὑμῖν ἡ
 εἴσοδος εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον βασιλείαν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ
 σωτῆρος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

12 Διὸ οὐκ ἀμελήσω ὑμᾶς ἀεὶ ὑπομιμνήσκειν περὶ τούτων.
 καίπερ εἰδότας, καὶ ἐστηριγμένους ἐν τῇ παρούσῃ ἀληθείᾳ.
 13 δίκαιον δὲ ἡγοῦμαι, ἐφ' ὅσον εἰμὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ σκηνώματι,
 14 διεγείρειν ὑμᾶς ἐν ὑπομνήσει· εἰδὼς ὅτι ταχινὴ ἐστὶν ἡ
 ἀπόθεσις τοῦ σκηνώματός μου, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν
 15 Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐδήλωσέν μοι. σπουδάσω δὲ καὶ ἐκάστοτε
 ἔχειν ὑμᾶς, μετὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἔξοδον, τὴν τούτων μνήμην
 ποιεῖσθαι.

16 Οὐ γὰρ σεσοφισμένοις μύθοις ἐξακολουθήσαντες ἐγνωρί-
 σαμεν ὑμῖν τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δύναμιν
 καὶ παρουσίαν, ἀλλ' ἐπόπται γεννηθέντες τῆς ἐκείνου με-
 17 γαλειότητος. λαβὼν γὰρ παρὰ Θεοῦ πατρὸς τιμὴν καὶ
 δόξαν, φωνῆς ἐνεχθείσης αὐτῷ τοιαῦτα ἐπὶ τῆς μεγαλο-
 πρεποῦς δόξης, 'Οὗτός ἐστίν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, εἰς ὃν
 18 ἐγὼ εὐδόκησα.' καὶ ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν ἡμεῖς ἠκούσαμεν
 ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐνεχθεῖσαν, σὺν αὐτῷ ὄντες ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ ἁγίῳ.

19 Καὶ ἔχομεν βεβαιότερον τὸν Προφητικὸν Λόγον, ᾧ καλῶς ποιεῖτε
 προσέχοντες, ὡς λύχνῳ φαίνοντι ἐν ἀσχημῶ τόπῳ, ἕως οὗ ἡμέρα

W.-H. i. 12 μελλήσω (om. οὐκ) ἀεὶ ὑμᾶς

17 ὁ υἱ. μου ὁ ἀγ. μου οὗτός ἐστιν

18 εὐδόκησα, — καὶ ταύτην τῷ ἀγ. ὄρει

20 διαυγάσῃ, καὶ φωσφόρος ἀνατείλῃ ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν· τοῦτο πρῶ-
 21 τον γινώσκοντες, ὅτι Πᾶσα προφητεία γραφῆς ἰδίας ἐπιλύσεως
 οὐ γίνεται. οὐ γὰρ θελήματι ἀνθρώπου ἠνέχθη ποτὲ
 προφητεία, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου φερόμενοι ἐλάλησαν
 2 οἱ ἅγιοι Θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι· ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ ψευδοπροφῆται
 ἐν τῷ λαῷ, ὡς καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν ἔσονται ψευδοδιδάσκαλοι.
 οἵτινες παρεισάξουσιν αἰρέσεις ἀπωλείας, καὶ τὸν ἀγορί-
 σαντα αὐτοὺς δεσπότην ἀρνούνενοι, ἐπάγοντες ἑαυτοῖς
 2 ταχινὴν ἀπώλειαν· καὶ πολλοὶ ἐξακολουθήσουσιν αὐτῶν
 ταῖς ἀπωλείαις, δι' οὓς ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ἀληθείας βλασφημη-
 3 θήσεται· καὶ ἐν πλεονεξίᾳ πλαστοῖς λόγοις ὑμᾶς ἐμπορεῦ-
 σονται· οἷς τὸ κρίμα ἔκπαλαι οὐκ ἀργεῖ, καὶ ἡ ἀπώλεια
 αὐτῶν οὐ νυστάζει.

4 Εἰ γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς ἀγγέλων ἁμαρτησάντων οὐκ ἐφείσατο,
 ἀλλὰ σειραῖς ζόφου тарταρώσας παρέδωκεν εἰς κρίσιν
 5 τετηρημένους· καὶ ἀρχαίου κόσμου οὐκ ἐφείσατο, ἀλλ'
 ὄγδοον Νῶε δικαιοσύνης κήρυκα ἐφύλαξεν, κατακλυσμὸν
 6 κόσμῳ ἀσεβῶν ἐπάξας· καὶ πόλεις Σοδόμων καὶ Γομόρρας
 τεφρώσας καταστροφῇ κατέκρινεν, ὑπόδειγμα μελλόντων
 7 ἀσεβεῖν τεθεικώς· καὶ δίκαιον Λὼτ, καταπονούμενον ὑπὸ
 τῆς τῶν ἀθέσμων ἐν ἀσελγείᾳ ἀναστροφῆς, ἐρρύσατο·
 8 (βλέμματι γὰρ καὶ ἀκοῇ ὁ δίκαιος, ἐγκατοικῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς,
 ἡμέραν ἐξ ἡμέρας ψυχὴν δικαίαν ἀνόμοις ἔργοις ἐβασά-
 9 νιζεν·) οἶδε Κύριος εὐσεβεῖς ἐκ πειρασμοῦ ρύεσθαι, ἀδίκ-
 10 οὺς δὲ εἰς ἡμέραν κρίσεως κολαζομένους τηρεῖν· μάλιστα
 δὲ τοὺς ὀπίσω σαρκὸς ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ μiasμοῦ πορευομένους,
 καὶ κυριότητος καταφρονούντας. Τολμηταὶ αὐθάδεις,

W.-H. i. 21 προφ. ποτέ πν. ἀγ. ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι (om. οἱ)

ii. 1 Ἐγένοντο

2 ἀσελγείαις

4 σειροῖς τηρουμένους

6 om. καταστροφῇ ἀσεβέσιν

8 — βλέμματι...ἐβασάνιζεν,—

10 τολμηταί, αὐθάδεις,

- 11 δόξας οὐ τρέμουσι βλασφημοῦντες· ὅπου ἄγγελοι, ἰσχύϊ
καὶ δυνάμει μείζονες ὄντες, οὐ φέρουσιν κατ' αὐτῶν παρὰ
12 Κυρίῳ βλάβημον κρίσιν. οὗτοι δὲ, ὡς ἄλογα ζῶα φυσικὰ
γεγεννημένα εἰς ἄλωσιν καὶ φθορὰν, ἐν οἷς ἀγνοοῦσι βλα-
13 σφημοῦντες, ἐν τῇ φθορᾷ αὐτῶν καταφθαρῆσονται, κομιού-
μενοι μισθὸν ἀδικίας. Ἡδονὴν ἡγούμενοι τὴν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ
τρυφὴν, σπῖλοι καὶ μῶμοι ἐντρυφῶντες ἐν ταῖς ἀπάταις
14 αὐτῶν, συνευωχούμενοι ὑμῖν, ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχοντες μεστοὺς
μοιχαλίδος καὶ ἀκαταπαύστους ἀμαρτίας, δελεάζοντες
ψυχὰς ἀστηρίκτους, καρδίαν γεγυμνασμένην πλεονεξίαις
15 ἔχοντες, κατάρας τέκνα, καταλιπόντες τὴν εὐθεῖαν ὁδὸν,
ἐπλανήθησαν, ἐξακολουθήσαντες τῇ ὁδῷ τοῦ Βαλαὰμ τοῦ
16 Βοσόρ, ὃς μισθὸν ἀδικίας ἡγάπησεν, ἔλεγχιν δὲ ἔσχεν
ιδίας παρανομίας· ὑποζύγιον ἄφωρον, ἐν ἀνθρώπου φωνῇ
φθεγξάμενον, ἐκώλυσεν τὴν τοῦ προφήτου παραφροσίαν.
17 Οὗτοί εἰσι πηγαὶ ἄνυδροι, νεφέλαι ὑπὸ λαίλαπος ἐλαυνό-
μεναι, οἷς ὁ ζόφος τοῦ σκότους εἰς αἰῶνα τετῆρηται.
18 Ὑπέρογκα γὰρ ματαιότητος φθεγγόμενοι, δελεάζουσιν ἐν
ἐπιθυμίαις σαρκὸς, ἐν ἀσελγείαις, τοὺς ὄντως ἀποφυγόντας
19 τοὺς ἐν πλάνῃ ἀναστρεφομένους, ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπαγ-
γελλόμενοι, αὐτοὶ δοῦλοι ὑπάρχοντες τῆς φθορᾶς· ᾧ γάρ
20 τις ἥττηται, τούτῳ καὶ δεδούλωται. Εἰ γὰρ ἀποφυγόντες τὰ
μιάσματα τοῦ κόσμου ἐν ἐπιγνώσει τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος Ἰησοῦ
Χριστοῦ, τούτοις δὲ πάλιν ἐμπλακέντες ἥττωνται, γέγονεν αὐτοῖς τὰ

W.-H. ii. 10 τρέμουσι, βλασφημοῦντες

11 [παρὰ Κυρίῳ]

12 γεγ. φυσικὰ

12, 13 αὐτῶν

13 ἀδικούμενοι μισθὸν ἀδικίας, ἡδονὴν marg. ἀγάπαις

14 ἀκαταπάστους πλεονεξίας

15 καταλείποντες om. τὴν Βεῶρ

17 καὶ ὁμίχλαι (for νεφέλαι) om. εἰς αἰῶνα

18 om. ἐν 2^ο ὀλίγως ἀποφεύγοντας

19 om. καὶ

21 ἔσχατα χείρονα τῶν πρώτων. κρεῖττον γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς μὴ ἐπεγνωκέναι
τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης, ἢ ἐπιγνοῦσιν ἐπιστρέψαι ἐκ τῆς παραδοθείσης
22 αὐτοῖς ἀγίας ἐντολῆς. συμβέβηκε δὲ αὐτοῖς τὸ τῆς ἀληθοῦς παροιμίας,
Κύων ἐπιστρέψας ἐπὶ τὸ ἴδιον ἐξέραμα· καὶ, Ὡς λουσαμένη εἰς
κύλισμα βορβόρου.

3 Ταύτην ἤδη, ἀγαπητοί, δευτέραν ὑμῖν γράφω ἐπιστολήν, ἐν αἷς
2 διεγείρω ὑμῶν ἐν ὑπομνήσει τὴν εἰλικρινῇ διάνοιαν, μνησθῆναι τῶν
προειρημένων ῥημάτων ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγίων προφητῶν, καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀποστό-
3 λων ἡμῶν ἐντολῆς τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος· τοῦτο πρῶτον γινώσκοντες,
ὅτι Ἐλεύσονται ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐμπαίκεται, κατὰ
4 τὰς ἰδίας αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμίας πορευόμενοι, καὶ λέγοντες, Ποῦ
ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπαγγελία τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ; ἀφ' ἧς γὰρ οἱ
πατέρες ἐκοιμήθησαν, πάντα οὕτω διαμένει ἀπ' ἀρχῆς
5 κτίσεως. Λανθάνει γὰρ αὐτοὺς τοῦτο θέλοντας, ὅτι οὐρανοὶ
ἦσαν ἔκπαλαι, καὶ γῆ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ δι' ὕδατος συνεστῶσα,
6 τῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγῳ, δι' ᾧ ὃν ὁ τότε κόσμος ὕδατι κατα-
7 κλυσθεὶς ἀπώλετο· οἱ δὲ νῦν οὐρανοὶ καὶ ἡ γῆ τῷ αὐτῷ
λόγῳ τεθησαυρισμένοι εἰσὶν, πυρὶ τηρούμενοι εἰς ἡμέραν
κρίσεως καὶ ἀπωλείας τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἀνθρώπων.

8 Ἐν δὲ τοῦτο μὴ λανθανέτω ὑμᾶς, ἀγαπητοί, ὅτι μία ἡμέρα παρὰ
9 Κυρίῳ ὡς χίλια ἔτη, καὶ χίλια ἔτη ὡς ἡμέρα μία. οὐ βραδύ-
νει ὁ Κύριος τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, ὥς τινες βραδύτητα ἡγοῦνται·
ἀλλὰ μακροθυμεῖ εἰς ἡμᾶς, μὴ βουλόμενός τινος ἀπολέσθαι,
10 ἀλλὰ πάντας εἰς μετάνοιαν χωρῆσαι. Ἦξει δὲ ἡ ἡμέρα
Κυρίου ὡς κλέπτῃς ἐν νυκτὶ, ἐν ᾗ οἱ οὐρανοὶ ῥοιζηδὸν παρ-
ελεύσονται, στοιχεῖα δὲ καυσούμενα λυθήσονται, καὶ γῆ καὶ

W.-H. ii. 21 ὑποστρέψαι

22 κυλισμὸν

iii. 2 ὑμῶν

3 ἐσχάτων ἐν ἐμπαυγμόνῃ ἐμπαίκεται ἐπιθ. αὐτῶν

10 om. ἐν νυκτὶ λυθήσεται

v. 8a ? E, see p. 36.

11 τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ἔργα κατακαήσεται. Τούτων οὖν πάντων λυομένων, ποταποὺς δεῖ ὑπάρχειν ὑμᾶς ἐν ἀγίαις ἀναστροφαῖς καὶ
 12 εὐσεβείαις, προσδοκῶντας καὶ σπεύδοντας τὴν παρουσίαν τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμέρας, δι' ἣν οὐρανοὶ πυρούμενοι λυθήσονται,
 13 καὶ στοιχεῖα καυσούμενα τήκεται; Καινοὺς δὲ οὐρανοὺς καὶ γῆν καινὴν κατὰ τὸ ἐπάγγελμα αὐτοῦ προσδοκῶμεν, ἐν οἷς δικαιοσύνη κατοικεῖ.

14 Διὸ, ἀγαπητοί, ταῦτα προσδοκῶντες, σπουδάσατε ἄσπιλοι καὶ
 15 ἀμώμητοι αὐτῷ εὐρεθῆναι ἐν εἰρήνῃ, καὶ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν μακροθυμίαν σωτηρίαν ἡγεῖσθε· καθὼς καὶ ὁ ἀγαπητὸς ἡμῶν ἀδελφὸς Παῦλος
 16 κατὰ τὴν αὐτῷ δοθεῖσαν σοφίαν ἔγραψεν ὑμῖν, ὡς καὶ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς, λαλῶν ἐν αὐταῖς περὶ τούτων· ἐν οἷς ἐστι δυσνόητά τινα, ἃ οἱ ἀμαθεῖς καὶ ἀστήρικτοι στρεβλοῦσιν, ὡς καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς γραφάς, πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτῶν ἀπώλειαν.

17 Ὑμεῖς οὖν, ἀγαπητοί, προγινώσκοντες φυλάσσεσθε, ἵνα μὴ τῇ τῶν
 18 ἀθέσμων πλάνῃ συναπαχθέντες, ἐκπέσητε τοῦ ἰδίου στηριγμοῦ· αὐξάνετε δὲ ἐν χάριτι καὶ γνώσει τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ σωτῆρος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς ἡμέραν αἰῶνος. ἀμήν.

W.-H. iii. 10 εὐρεθήσεται (see appendix)

11 οὕτως (for οὖν) [ὑμᾶς]

12 τήκεται· "perhaps a corruption of the rare τήξεται" (appendix) καινοὺς

15 δοθεῖσαν αὐτῷ

16 αὐτῶν (for αὐτῶν)

18 om. ἀμήν

(ii) *On some points in the text of the Epistle.*

(A) i. 3. Ὡς connected with the preceding clause by W.-H., Oecum., Theoph., Vulg., Beda., Erasm., Hornej., Grot., Spitta, von Soden.

It is true that the salutation elsewhere stands apart, but both salutation and epilogue of the present Epistle are unusual in design.

Spitta compares the Ignatian Epistles ad Philad., Smyrn., Eph., Rom., and the Pseudo-Platonic letters iii and viii.

If we follow W.-H., the section with its series of linked clauses certainly looks like a conscious and laboured imitation of Pauline connection (see esp. Gal. i. 1-5 and Eph. i. 1-14).

In any case the salutation is highly conventional. $\tau\eta\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma\ \delta\upsilon\upsilon\alpha\mu\epsilon\omega\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ suggests one of those set prefatory phrases which occur in documents of another character, inscriptions, and complimentary or official letters.

(B) Vansittart (*Journal of Philology*, III. p. 357) has suggested on textual grounds that this Epistle was extant for some time in a single copy¹; the older chapter headings are certainly wanting in B. A further suggestion may perhaps be hazarded that some part of the original document was in tachygraph, and that the misreading of abbreviations is responsible for Jude's $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$ and $\sigma\pi\iota\lambda\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$ for $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma$ and $\sigma\pi\iota\lambda\omicron\iota$, as well, perhaps, as the difficult $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\chi\acute{\upsilon}\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$ of Jude v. 11². Be this as it may, the general impression of a study of the text is that it is probably in a corrupt state.

Four possible "primitive errors" are here noted; (a) i. 1 $\lambda\alpha\chi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu\ \pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\eta}\mu\omicron\nu$ 'Εν here presents no special difficulty, but the run of the sentence is much improved if we assume a gap after $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$, in which the

¹ A single copy, in the first instance, was probable. The letters were letters, and not written for publication. The only copy of the lost letter to the Corinthians, as Deissmann suggests (*St Paul*, Eng. Tr. p. 69), was possibly torn up by the Corinthians themselves.

² ? for $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\eta\kappa\omicron\lambda\omicron\acute{\upsilon}\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$ (2 P. ii. 15) ; but see below p. 54 note. $\mu\omicron\iota\chi\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\varsigma$ (for $\mu\omicron\iota\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$, apparently) may have a similar origin. It also has the appearance of a despairing attempt of a not over-skilled decipherer.

local name of the community to whom the letter is to be carried would be inserted—*τοῖς ἰσότιμον ἡμῖν λαχοῦσιν πίστιν ἐν....., δικαιοσύνη τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν....*

The absence of any note of place is remarkable (1 Peter i. 1 is in strong contrast).

In the salutation of Jude, the relation of which to the present salutation will be discussed later, the *ἐν* of verse 1 is a positive difficulty, and Dr Chase has there suggested a similar gap.

(b) i. 20. *πᾶσα προφητεία...ιδίας ἐπιλύσεως οὐ γίγνεται...* Here there seems to be some primitive error, and suggestions have been made on the assumption that *γίγνεται* + *casus genetivus* properly and normally means "arises from." Thus Grotius reads *ἐπηλύσεως*, Heinsius *ἐπιλείσεως*, both in the sense "non est res proprii impetus." If we are to emend on these lines, *ἐπιπνεύσεως* is more likely to be the original word. "No scriptural Prophecy arises out of a man's own inspiration, prophecy was never inspired (*ἠνέχθη* surely in same sense as *φερόμενοι*) by man's (own) will but prophets spoke being inspired by the Holy Spirit." *Ἐπιπνοίας* would be the usual word, but *ἐπίπνευσις* might well be used for its similarity to *πνεύματος*, whereby the contrast is more clearly brought out.

If on the other hand we are to keep the traditional interpretation, we should perhaps read...*ιδίας ἐπὶ λύσεως οὐ γίγνεται*, since *γίγνεσθαι ἐπὶ* with genitive correctly means "to be concerned with." There is no apparent need for the compound noun and, as the text stands, there is no point in *γίγνεται* rather than *ἐστίν*¹.

¹ Mayor considers these words, in the traditional text, "not unworthy of the Apostle in whose name they are written." The criticism does certainly seem to apply to many of the phrases, seemingly difficult and

(c) ii. 7. The repetition of *δίκαιος* vv. 7, 8 (*bis*) is strange, though both 2 Peter and Jude show certain curious repetition phenomena. Lot was, by contrast, *δίκαιος*, but hardly so as to merit a three-fold commendation.

Is *δίκαιον* in v. 7 a primitive error for *δέκατον*, a misunderstanding of Gen. xviii. 32, and a parallel to *ὄγδοον* in verse 5 above? Some mystic stress is laid, no doubt, upon these numerals here as elsewhere (e.g. Pirke Aboth v. 1-9).

(d) iii. 16. *πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτῶν¹ ἀπώλειαν*. There is nothing strange in *ἴδιος αὐτῶν* which according to some authorities (Σ al.) is read in iii. 3. But with Jude 6 in mind it may be questioned whether *αἰδίων* is not here original².

κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμίας (if correct) is intelligible enough, "the lusts peculiar to themselves," of which they may almost be considered the inventors: but "their own peculiar destruction" or even "their *οὐν* (emphatic) destruction" seems hyperbolic. *αἰδίων* here would give excellent sense, and would be an echo (see pp. 18 ff.) of ii. 3, 12, iii. 7.

αἰδίων αὐτῶν δύναμις occurs early in the Epistle to the Romans (i. 20) which may here be in the writer's mind.

obscure, in P, the difficulty and obscurity of which arise only from the profundity of their meaning. P suggests a writer of great thoughts struggling with unmanageable media of expression.

¹ Here and in iii. 3 *αὐτῶν* is probably correct.

² The assumption being (see below pp. 57 ff.) that our "editor" has read "Jude's" setting of the fragment which he, later on, also incorporates into an "Epistle."

V. DIFFERENCES OF STYLE, VOCABULARY, ETC., BETWEEN "E" AND "P."

The results tentatively arrived at by the process of analysis have given us no more than a working hypothesis unconfirmed at present by any verification.

It is now necessary to search carefully on the one hand the passages which, appearing to be homogeneous in themselves, have been temporarily designated as P, or possibly Petrine fragments, and on the other hand those passages which have the appearance of connecting links, comments, personal explanations, and conclusions, and have been temporarily designated as E. These symbols, however, must be understood as serving the convenience of discussion only, and not as prejudging any conclusions to be arrived at later.

(i) *Want of originality in E.*

The first obvious mark of the E sections is their want of originality.

The salutation, as has been already pointed out, is on conventional lines, with conventional phrases. Verse 3, especially, recalls the language of honorific inscriptions (Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, p. 360). Its affinity with Pauline salutations is noted below; as also its possible debt to Josephus and Philo.

Elsewhere, E appears to pick up words from P, echoing¹ the actual words, but with difference of application or

¹ Chase, *D.B.* III. p. 808, notes that in some cases there is a natural need for this "iteration"; but that "in the majority of cases there is no such justification." He accepts however this "remarkable

construction, or in the case of some of these, with different meanings: ἀποφυγόντες (P, ii. 18) appears also in E (i. 4), but in ii. 18 it is followed by an accusative, in i. 4 by a genitive.

In ii. 20 (E) it echoes ii. 18 (P) and is assimilated in point of construction: but in ii. 20 it is (as Chase notes) used of a set of persons other than those of ii. 18. Ἀρετή occurs in P (i. 5) in a natural sense and context. It is used in the salutation, i. 3 (E), in a different sense, and one unique in the N. T., though found in Josephus and Philo.

δόξα, used thrice in P, and in three different meanings (i. 17 *bis*, ii. 10), is used in the salutation (E) in still another signification, and one which, with ἀρετή, suggests a later linguistic stratum. In iii. 18 (E) its use is conventional¹.

ἐπιθυμία also, in E, has all the appearance of an echo-word. In P it occurs ii. 10, ii. 18 (plural) in the sense of "desire of," followed by a genitive, in iii. 3 (also P) it is again in the plural, in the abstract sense of "lusts."

In i. 4 (E) it is used in the singular, without genitive, in the sense of "lust," with an entirely general signification.

characteristic" without suggesting any possible cause. "His vocabulary is ambitious, but...the list of repetitions stamps it as poor and inadequate."—Mayor (Introd. pp. lvii, lviii) traces these to "a liking for recurrent sounds or a desire to give emphasis." But many, if not most, of the repetitions gain little in emphasis. On the theory of the integrity of the Epistle, they are a source of weakness, as Chase observes.

¹ The meaning of δόξα in ii. 10 is very doubtful; but Grosch's strained interpretation (*op. cit.* p. 22) "die Herrlichkeiten des gläubigen Christen" can hardly stand.

φθορά occurs in ii. 12 (P) in an entirely natural sense. The animal creation is created for the shambles¹.

In the same verse it is applied to the "destruction" of the equally "brute" *ἐμπαῖκται*. In ii. 19 (P) it is used in the sense of moral corruption. In i. 4 (E) it is used, without article, in a purely general sense. In this respect its use is a parallel to that of *ἐπιθυμία*.

These words have been singled out from the salutation (others will be discussed presently) at the risk of an appearance of hypercriticism, as exhibiting slight shades of difference from the same words as appearing elsewhere in the Epistle. They are all without the article, a fact which in itself suggests that they are used without special reference. But what is remarkable about both these and other expressions in the salutation is their grouping. We may suppose that a writer sitting down to compose a letter would begin with the salutation, and, on the whole, go straight forward with the development of his subject or subjects. Let us however postulate what, at present, only our analysis gives us any right to pre-suppose, that an editor or redactor is in possession of certain passages, not his own, which he is welding into a single document. What would, in all probability, be his course? He would survey his materials, arrange them, perhaps compose his bridging comments or amplifications, and would then settle down to the formalities of salutation and conclusion.

Is it merely fanciful to see in the salutation the overture in which the melodies to come are lightly indicated? Or, to put it more prosaically, to see in vv. 1-4 a table of contents?

¹ Wetstein gives an illustration from a rabbinic source; a calf begged off its approaching doom. Rabbi Judah replied "Thou wast created for this end."

The conventional opening done, we are told that we possess *τὰ πρὸς ζώην καὶ εὐσέβειαν*. Does not this describe accurately the "moral ladder" of *vv.* 5-11?¹ The *ζωή* is to be attained through *ἐπίγνωσις*.

What does the writer of verses 12-15 offer but "knowledge"?

The "knowledge" is of one who called us by *δόξα* and *ἀρετή*. We have the description of this *δόξα* in *vv.* 17, 18; of one manifestation, at least, thereof.

We are to become "partakers of Divine nature, escaping the corruption in the world in lust." All chapter ii. and verse 3 of chapter iii. are warnings how we may know, and thus escape, this *φθορά*, which is also the result of "lust."

And finally, chapter iii., verses 7-10, with verse 12, describes to us a final "destruction," in which those alone will be involved (see *v.* 9) who continue the life of *ἐπιθυμία* and *ἐμπαιγμονή*.

The salutation is a conscious summary of what follows, and so far from suggesting a natural preface to the Epistle, bears at least a suspicion of being put together with some labour and artificiality after the component parts of the rest of the documents had been arranged and studied.

Yet another, and an important, "echo" appears in i. 1. In i. 11 (P) we have *τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ σωτῆρος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*. In ii. 20 (E) the same phrase occurs, without *ἡμῶν*. In iii. 2 (E) we have *τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος*, and in iii. 18 (E) as in i. 11. But in i. 1, according to the best text, we have a remarkable variation, *τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ σωτῆρος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, no parallel to which can be adduced before the second century (Ignatius ad Eph. *ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν*, of Jesus Christ).

¹ See discussion of *ἐπαγγέλματα* below, § vi. p. 37.

The Sahidic version, perhaps puzzled by the contradiction between *vv.* 1 and 2, omits *v.* 2.

Further points in the salutation (which is full of problems) will be dealt with later.

A striking example of "echo" may be seen below in ii. 20 (E) where ἀποφυγόντες recalls ἀποφεύγοντα (ii. 18 P), τὰ μιάσματα τοῦ κόσμου recalls ἐπιθυμίαις σαρκός, ἐμπλακέντες recalls δελεάζουσιν, and ἡττῶνται recalls ἡττῆται.

It is not altogether likely that an author would repeat thus, with comparatively weak comments, what he has already said in vigorous language.

The passage ii. 20–22 has all the appearance of a rather lame and artificial conclusion of another hand.

Other instances are προσδοκῶντες iii. 14 (E) from the previous verse (P), τῇ τῶν ἀθέσμων πλάνῃ iii. 17 (E) see ii. 15, στηριγμοῦ iii. 17 (E) see i. 12, σπουδάσατε iii. 14 (E) see i. 5, 10, 15,—διεγείρω ἐν ὑπομνήσει iii. 1 (E), see i. 13.

(ii) *Paucity of vocabulary in E.*

Akin to E's borrowings from other parts of the document is his paucity of vocabulary which leads to repetition within each E section, repetition which apparently has no special point or purpose.

Θεοῦ, Ἰησοῦ, in i. 1 and i. 2 have already been noted, so too ἐπιγνώσει i. 2, τῆς ἐπιγνώσεως i. 3, θείας i. 3, θείας i. 4.

In ii. 20–22 this paucity both of words and ideas is specially marked. These three *vv.* say the same thing thrice. χείρονα is balanced (negatively) by κρείττον; and note ἐπιγνώσει ἐπεγνωκέναι ἐπιγνούσιν; ὑποστρέψαι ἐπιστρέψας.

In iii. 1-3a (a passage requiring special discussion later) we have ὑπομνήσει μνησθήναι. ἐντολῆς iii. 2 see ἐντολῆς ii. 21; iii. 15 καθὼς καὶ 16 ὡς καὶ (*bis*); ἀγαπητοί iii. 14 ἀγαπητός 15 ἀγαπητοί 17.

These repetitions suggest a conscientious but unable writer uneasily making the best of the little at his command¹.

While it is quite true that repetitions occur elsewhere (e.g. iii. 5, 7, 8, 10), such repetitions are either necessary or emphatic.

(iii) *Clear references in E to the Canonical Books of the N. T.*

The next mark of E which falls under discussion is also part and parcel of this lack of originality, namely reference to the N. T. books, whence also words and ideas are borrowed².

The relation of the salutation to that of Jude is discussed later. It has close affinities with the Pauline salutations (notably Rom. and Phil.), and is perhaps indebted also to 1 Peter with the significant addition of ἐν ἐπιγνώσει, a word belonging to the later stratum of Pauline vocabulary.

There are references, or apparent references, to single words or brief phrases in 1 Peter, both in E and P. Of

¹ E is cramped in vocabulary by his want of LXX words. P uses the LXX sparingly: he is not steeped in it. Καθαρισμός μῶμος σκῆνωμα ὑποζύγιον are commonest of the LXX words which P employs. Nothing definitely suggestive of the LXX occurs in E, unless we so reckon εἰρήνη πλεθυνθείη.

² As also by P, but P is less dependent upon his originals. His allusions are "not of an intimate nature" (Mayor, who collects them, *Introd.* p. lxxviii).

these only a few are crucial, and until we have surer knowledge in regard to the composition of 1 Peter, we can draw no reliable conclusion from them¹. ἐπόπται (i. 16 P) 1 P. ii. 12, iii. 2 ἐποπτεύοντες, is said to be a technical word from the language of the mysteries². Ἀπίθεις itself occurs in the N.T. in i. 14 (P) and 1 P. iii. 21, but the verb is common, and the metaphor obvious³.

Perhaps iii. 14 (E) ἄσπιλοι καὶ ἀνώμητοι may be referred directly to 1 P. i. 19, but even here there is no necessary reference.

References however to other books of the N.T. may perhaps be more clearly seen in i. 19 (E) ὡς λύχνῳ φαίνονται ἐν ἀύχμηρῷ τόπῳ, where there appears to be a clear reference to the Fourth Gospel v. 35, ὁ λύχνος ὁ καιόμενος καὶ φαίνων. The parallel is clearer still if we may suppose that our writer understood ἀύχμηρός in its correct and original sense of "dry," "desert." The Baptist was a light in a *desert* place (cf. Lk. i. 80).

ib. ἕως οὗ ἡμέρα διανύσῃ καὶ φωσφόρος ἀνατείλῃ...

The context (prophecy) and the language strongly suggest a reference to the Benedictus.

προφήτης...κληθήσῃ...

ἐν οἷς ἐπισκέψεται ἡμᾶς ἀνατολή...ἐπιφάναι τοῖς ἐν σκότει... Mayor suggests also 2 Cor. iv. 4-6 (ἀυγάσαι...ἔλαμψεν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις...).

He points out also that the reversal of the natural order of dawn and daystar is true to the passage of 2 Cor.

¹ Grosch (*op. cit.*) is a sad proof to what lengths of rashness conservatism may go in proving the *inexpertus per inexpertum*.

² These technical meanings are not to be pressed, and the word may have been common enough in early Christian language.

³ The "putting off" of clothes, etc. It could hardly refer to the "stowing away" of a tent (σκήνωμα), as has been suggested.

and to the fact that first came the Dawn—the Messiah—and then the Daystar—in the individual heart: both preceded by the Lamp of Prophecy.

ii. 20 τὰ ἔσχατα χείρονα τῶν πρώτων: this appears to be a direct reference to Mt. xii. 45, Lk. xi. 26.

The verse which follows suggests Heb. vi. 4–6.

iii. 14 εὑρεθῆναι is a possible reference to Gal. ii. 17, 2 Cor. v. 3.

iii. 15 ὁ ἀγαπητὸς ἡμῶν ἀδελφός suggests St Paul's own words of Tychicus and Onesimus, but the use of ἀδελφός of St Paul also strongly suggests Ac. ix. 17 Σαοῦλ ἀδελφέ, as if we were here to render not "Our beloved brother Paul" but "Our beloved 'Brother Paul'."

ib. κατὰ τὴν δοθείσαν (σοφίαν) also from St Paul himself 1 Cor. iii. 10 (χάριν, but σόφος is close by).

iii. 16. τὰς λοιπὰς γραφάς—certainly suggests the use of αἱ γραφαί of the O.T. in the N.T. (e.g. Rom. xv. 4, 1 Cor. xv. 3, 4). Here, if the references given above to passages of the Canonical N.T. books hold good, it refers to those N.T. books themselves (a use of γραφαί which is assured by the middle of the second century²).

Other possible N.T. references are ἴδιος αὐτῶν (Ac. xxiv. 23, Tit. i. 12), ἐκπέσητε (Gal. v. 4), ἀνξάνετε (intr. as commonly in N.T.), πρὸς (v. 16) (as e.g. 2 Cor. iv. 6) and the doxology (the rare ἡμέρα αἰῶνος may be an echo of iii. 7, iii. 10 above).

¹ If this "titular" sense holds good, we may compare what is said below on δοῦλος καὶ ἀπόστολος, p. 40.

² The expression "which they torture (twist) as they do also the rest of the writings" may gain point from the fact that the writer is himself putting together and commenting upon a series of fragments without any suggestion of "twisting." His comments follow the lines of his originals precisely, almost slavishly.

These indications, minute in themselves, taken cumulatively, go to show that the passage *vv.* 14-18 is a cento, largely Pauline, as if it were a kind of compliment to that Apostle to surround the mention of his name with a guard of honour from his own works. Certainly in *v.* 16 the writer speaks as a conscious student of Pauline works.

(iv) *Possible references to Josephus.*

The parallels adduced by Dr Abbott and others from Josephus are discounted by recent scholars¹. There was a considerable body of vocabulary which would naturally be common to similar contexts. Such words and phrases as *σπουδή*, *σπουδάζω*, *δίκαιον ἡγησάμην*, *καλῶς ποιεῖν προσέχοντες*, etc., are common in epistolary Greek. It may however be noted that the only reasonably clear set of parallels between a consecutive passage of Josephus and a consecutive passage of 2 Peter is that of the Salutation of 2 Peter (E) and the Preface (§ 4) of the *Antiquities*.

(v) *Certain grammatical peculiarities. Comparison of E with P.*

Mayor has entered most minutely into grammatical and syntactical marks of the Epistle. From his list the following special points may be noted².

P alone omits the article, where we should look for it, with *Θεοῦ* (E i. 1, 2 *τοῦ Θεοῦ*), *πνεῦμα ἅγιον*, *γραφὴ*, words, that is, which have something of a title about them.

¹ As also those from Philo.

² Mayor's discussion is very full and deals with many items either doubtful or of minor importance, but a complete study of it seems to confirm what these "special points" suggest, viz. two definable linguistic strata in the Epistle.

E alone gives the "semi-compact" or elaborate use of the article as in

τοῖς ἰσότητιμον ἡμῖν λαχοῦσιν πίστιν, i. 1

τῶν προειρημένων ῥημάτων ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγ. πρ. iii. 2

τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐντολῆς τοῦ Κυρίου ib.

P gives six examples of the "uncompact" use, E only one *διὰ τῆς ἐπιγνώσεως τοῦ καλέσαντος ἡμᾶς*.

With ordinary words E does thrice omit an expected article. Elsewhere E is almost obtrusively precise in the use of the article (i. 4, ii. 22, iii. 16, iii. 17) while P omits it freely (i. 21, ii. 5, ii. 6, ii. 10, ii. 13, ii. 15, iii. 4 al.).

Mayor specially remarks the "illiterate use of the anarthrous noun" as "more visible in the prophetic portions," in P, that is to say. Genitives and Datives in E are normal and classical, except i. 1 *ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ*, on which see note above, pp. 15, 16.

Special to P are

genitive of quality (ii. 1 al.),

appositional (ii. 6),

with adjective (ii. 14),

with verbs (ii. 5 al.),

and datives of

instrument (ii. 3, ii. 6 al.),

cause (i. 21, ii. 8 al.),

respect (ii. 8, ii. 11),

with *ἐν* (unclassical) (i. 13, ii. 3, ii. 16, iii. 3 W.-H.).

E uses no plural abstracts. P ii. 10, ii. 2, ii. 18, iii. 11.

The curiously vague connections of E (esp. in the

salutation) have been noted. We may add ἐν αἷς iii. 1, the double relative connection iii. 16 ἐν αἷς...ᾧ preceded by καθὼς καί...ὥς καί...

In tenses, E is normal, if not studied¹. He affects pairs δεδωρημένης δεδώρηται, καλέσαντος ἀποφυγόντες in i. 1-4. In ii. 20-22 we have ἀποφυγόντες ἐμπλακέντες, γέγονεν ἐπεγνωκέναι συμβέβηκεν, ἐπιγνοῦσιν ὑποστρέψαι, ἐπιστρέψας λουσαμένη. In iii. 14ff. σπουδάσατε εὐρεθῆναι, δοθείσαν ἔγραψεν, λαλῶν ἐστὶν στρεβλοῦσιν.—P varies tenses at will, almost perversely:

see e.g. ii. 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 15, 17,

iii. 12 λυθήσονται τήκεται²,

iii. 5, 6 συνεστῶσα κατακλυσθεῖς,

i. 10 σπουδάσατε ποιείσθαι,

ποιούντες πταίσητε.

Of moods E uses classical constructions in i. 19 ἕως οὐ and subjunctive (Lk. and Acts), i. 2, aorist optative (rare in N.T. except Lk.).

While E uses participles in a normal way, P is very free with them, especially in the present, where they seem to make for dramatic effect.

In voices, E is normal. P uses active for middle i. 5, ii. 1, i. 15.

Two special instances of pleonasm occur in P. ii. 12, iii. 3 W.-H.; compare also ii. 16, unless this be classed as periphrasis with ii. 14, i. 9, 10, 15, 17.

P has a strange anacoluthon in ii. 4-9³. E has two, both with γιγνώσκοντες ὅτι; on these see below §VI. pp. 33ff.

¹ Note his idiomatic κρείττον ἦν ii. 21.

² If τήζεται (W.-H.) were original, it is hard to see why it was lost, protected as it would be by λυθήσονται (-σεται).

³ If οἶδεν marks the apodosis, it is so far removed as to amount to anacoluthon.

(vi) *Vocabulary ; Solecisms.*

Certain points in the vocabulary of E have already been touched on.

If we take Dr Chase's list of the solecisms of the Epistle, it is noteworthy that not one occurs in E (on ἐξέραμα and κυλισμός see below). P has μελλήσω¹ καυσούσθαι βλέμμα παρεισφέρω φωνή (of Divine utterance) μυωπάζειν μοιχαλὶς (as here used) παραφρονία ταρταρόω. We should add, perhaps, the form ἐπάξας in ii. 5, and γεννηθέντες in i. 16. Of the 56 words only in 2 Peter of the N.T. books (some occurring more than once) 39 are in P. If we cancel out those which being nouns have a corresponding verb in the other part of the document, or verbs with corresponding nouns, or different forms (στηριγμός μίασμα ἀμώμητος) we find in E only ἀνχμηρός διαυγάζω φωσφόρος in one obviously cited passage, and ἐξέραμα κυλισμός βόρβορος ὧς in two quoted proverbs².

We are left with δυσνόητος, ἰσότιμος, and μέγιστος (on which see below), and στρεβλόω, none of which can be called highly solecistic. E, as opposed to P, seems to avoid the *verbum inusitatum*.

E does however use certain common words in a not common meaning, and such as we do not elsewhere find till late ; e.g. δόξα (=virtus : "inward and moral" Thayer) φύσις (θεία), perhaps ἀνχμηρός, γραφάς, and we may add the free use of ἐπίγνωσις and σωτήρ.

¹ Unless Field's μελήσω be correct, itself something near a solecism.

² Perhaps (as suggested by Wordsworth) two iambic (? seazon) lines.

(vii) E's "*Commercialisms*."

There are a certain number of words in E which, studied in their context, have a curious commercial ring about them.

In i. 1 *δικαιοσύνη τοῦ Θεοῦ, δικαιοσύνη* means, in the words of Clem. Alex. (p. 116), *ἰσότης καὶ κοινωνία τοῦ δικαίου... Θεοῦ ἢ αὐτῇ πρὸς πάντας*. In other words, it is not "justice" but "just dealing" (see Westcott on 1 John i. 9). *πίστιν ἰσότιμον λαχοῦσιν* in the context all help this idea.

λαχοῦσιν means "having got," and *πίστιν* is evidently something worth "getting," something concrete. *ἰσότημος* is used by Philo (despite Field) to mean "of equal value with" (M. i. p. 165, i. p. 70 *ἰσότιμον ψυχῇ*), and the sense would be a good one here. *πίστις* will then be not *fides*, but *fidei-commissum*¹, a sense which would stand well in Jude 3 "the deposit once entrusted to the saints" (note *παραδοθείση deditae*, not *traditae*) for which—as the strong man armed over his treasure—we must fight bravely.

πίστις is here a *παρακαταθήκη*. See *πιστοῦσθαι* in 1 Tim. iii. 14, and cp. James ii. 1 where in the context are *πλούσιος, κληρόνομος*, and *κριταί* in (apparently) the commercial sense of "arbitrators." Such a use suits also 2 Tim. iii. 8; the sinners are "fraudulent trustees" *ἀδόκιμοι περὶ τὴν πίστιν*; but they will "make nothing" (*προκόπτειν*, see L. and S. s.v. *προκόπτειν πλούτοις*) by it. See also 1 Tim. vi. 21, *περὶ τὴν πίστιν ἡστόχησαν* where

¹ As Heine, living in a commercial atmosphere, said (*Buch le Grand*) that he soon learnt that "der Glaube" meant not "la foi" but "le crédit."

ἀστοχεῖν at least suggests *faire faillite* in the worldly sense. The opposite virtue is τὴν παρα- (παρακατα-) θήκην φυλίσσειν, "to be a good trustee!"

The context, vi. 17-19 (addressed to the rich in this world), has ἀπόλαυσιν πλουτεῖν ἀποθησαυρίζειν and perhaps we may count also θεμέλιον (= τὰ ἀρχαῖα, "capital") and ἀδηλότης ("floating wealth" opposed to τὸ φανερόν, "ready cash"; ἀφανής has a similar use).

Returning to our document, we continue with μέγιστα καὶ τίμια, of which τίμια is obviously connected with τιμή ("price"), and μέγιστα has the appearance of a "commercial" superlative (see footnote p. 34); and κοινωνοί, a common commercial word.

Lower down, in i. 19 βεβαιότερον ἔχειν suggests βεβαιοῦν, which has commercial connotations, but see i. 10, where it is used quite naturally. Possibly εὐρεθῆναι iii. 14 (but see p. 25) is another word of this class "to be certified," "to be found correct?"

If these "commercialisms" go for anything they may suggest to us, in our summary of the distinguishing marks of E, that he writes from some trading centre, possibly Alexandria³. "Alexandrian" he certainly is in style: always tethered to some original; precise, not to say stilted, in vocabulary, syntax, and ideas; a conscious, not to say laboured writer, with none of the joyous

¹ Such commercial metaphors or *double-ententes* would appeal especially to the Greek mind. The Greeks were the Lombards of the Mediterranean in those days.

² In *Evang. Petri* § 6 (Robinson and James) there is a curious use of the verb: εὐρέθη ὥρα ἐνάτη. "It was ascertained to be..."

³ Egypt was avoided by St Paul, and Deissmann may be right in suggesting (*S. Paul*, Eng. Tr. p. 202) that it was considered to "belong to St Peter."

rapidity of P (i. 5-7, i. 17, 18, ii. 12-14); making up for his literary defects by personal affection (*ἀγαπητοί ἀγαπητός* iii. 14-17), by fervent zeal, and by deep reverence for the "Apostles of the Lord and Saviour" and their sayings¹. Against E, P is almost reckless in vocabulary, syntax, and flow of ideas²: and is ready to go beyond the circle of Canonical writings, so that he may make a point. P is a writer of fine openings. *Σπουδὴν πᾶσαν παρεισενέγκαντες*,—*Πᾶσα προφητεία* (? from some "oracular" hexameter)..., *Ἐλεύσονται ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν* (note iambic rhythm); and of conclusions, *εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον βασιλείαν τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ σ. Ἰ. Χ.—σὺν αὐτῷ ὄντες ἐν τῷ ἀγίῳ ὕρει*...³—*ὃ γάρ τις ἥπτηται, τούτῳ δεδούλωται* (possibly a "scazon" iambic recast)—*ἐν οἷς δικαιοσύνη κατοικεῖ*.

E, for all his borrowed plumes, and his stricter adherence to convention, looks poor beside him, being unoriginal to banality.

¹ Mayor (footnote, *Introd.* p. xxvi) frankly owns to "the agreements, as well as disagreements (of 2 Peter) with the ordinary rules." This surely suggests two strata of language.

² There can be nothing in the style of P to forbid authorship by the Apostle Peter. We simply do not know what sort of Greek St Peter might have written or did write. 1 Peter, if genuine, is of no help, as being "written up." How widely works so "written up" may differ from the same author's unaided efforts may be seen by the study of a book by M. Markino, *A Japanese Artist in London*, of which the style is unimpeachable, and of a later work of the same author, when he believed himself equal to the writing of English, of which the style is often highly solecistic.

³ In passing it may be noted that this phrase does not necessarily imply late date. There were *ἅγια ὄρη* everywhere—at Rome (*Mons Sacer*), in the Thracian Chersonnese (*ιερόν Ὀρος*), etc. It was natural to apply the title to the "Transfiguration mountain."

VI. CITATION FORMULAE IN THE EPISTLE.

(i) γιγνώσκειν (εἰδέναι) ὅτι.

Even granting the main position taken in the preceding pages, as a result of analysis followed by verification from atmosphere and style, the question will be asked (and rightly), Why, if the Redactor was consciously incorporating fragments of an earlier author, was he not at pains to make this clear?

The reply is, that he was at such pains, both by his own statement in iii. 2 and by the use, before his two chief citations (the third and fourth; the first and second follow immediately on one another), of a recognised citation formula, τοῦτο πρῶτον γιγνώσκοντες ὅτι....

It will have been noticed that in both the instances of this phrase (i. 20 and iii. 2) it is out of construction¹, it is followed at once by a definite and direct pronouncement, it closes what has the appearance of a comment or "aside," and opens up something fresh².

Dr Robinson (*Ephesians*, p. 222) has pointed out that in letters γινώσκειν σὲ θέλω prepares for a piece of news, and he quotes an instance where, as here, it is "curiously disconnected," γινώσκειν σὲ θέλω, μὴ μελησάτω σοὶ περὶ τῶν σιτικῶν. He compares Phil. i. 12, Rom. i. 13, 1 Cor. xi. 3, Col. ii. 1, Heb. xiii. 23 for phrases of this type.

¹ In i. 20 it is possible, grammatically, to hark back to ποιεῖτε. This however would logically be wrong, and editors by placing a colon at ὑμῶν have preferred to remove the logical rather than the grammatical difficulty.

² For similar anacoluthon caused by dropping into citation compare 1 Tim. iii. 16.

N.T. instances of this and similar phrases are noted below, but the use is not confined to N.T. or late Greek. The phrase introduces a γνώμη in Aesch. *P.V.* 104, 377, Soph. *Ant.* 188, *El.* 989, Eur. *Med.* 560, *Cycl.* 420, *Phoenix fr.* ix. 8¹.

In the N.T. it introduces solemn and formal statements, often recognisable citations, see e.g. Rom. vi. 6 (the passage looks to be a crystallized bit of resurrection teaching); Gal. iii. 7, some pronouncement of our Lord's like those in Lc. xix. 9, John viii. 39; Eph. v. 5, possibly a reminiscence of some "saying of Jesus," occurring perhaps in its original form in 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10 (where οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι precedes), see also 1 Cor. xv. 50 and Gal. v. 21.

2 Tim. iii. 1, apparently a reference to Mt. xxiv. 7, 21 (itself a citation). See also 1 John ii. 18 and context.

James i. 3, introducing a statement found in 1 Pet. i. 7. Cf. Rom. v. 4, where note εἰδότες ὅτι.

id. ii. 20 introduces a gnomic sentence.

id. v. 20, a citation apparently made up from Prov. viii. 12 and Ps. li. 15 (see Mayor, ad loc.), cf. 1 Pet. iv. 8. Resch, supported by Didascalia ii. 3, refers the phrase ἀγάπη καλύπτει πλ. ἁμαρτιῶν to Jesus.

1 John ii. 3, 5, the presence of ἐν τούτῳ alters the expression, but in both cases there follow close parallels to sayings of Jesus.

ib. 18 the author cites, in order to justify, his own words. See also *id.* iii. 19, 24 and iv. 3.

In Lc. xii. 39 the phrase points to a truism "had the householder known..."

¹ οὐκ ἄγνοεῖν ὅτι, a natural variant, in Dem. *Pro Phormione* 957 introduces a commercial maxim in hexameter rhythm πίστις ἀφορμὴ | τῶν πασῶν ἐστὶ μεγίστη.

In Mt. xxiv. 32, 33, it points to an obvious natural fact.

In Pseudo-Clement xvi. the phrase introduces a citation from Malachi, in v. apparently from 1 Peter. See also Polycarp, Phil. iv. 15.

The parallel εἰδέναι ὅτι¹ occurs (see above);

Rom. v. 4, see James i. 2, 3, 1 Pet. i. 5, 7.

ib. xi. 2 ...ἐν Ἡλείῳ τί λέγει.

Heb. xii. 17 (a well-known fact).

1 John iii. 15 (perhaps based on Sermon on the Mount).

ib. v. 15 seqq. (a series of four, of which two are parallel to ii. 29, where γινώσκειν ὅτι was used).

Compare also Pseudo-Clement vii. (1 Tim. ii. 5), Polycarp, Phil. 15 (Lightfoot notes "Polycarp uses εἰδέναι ὅτι as a formula of citation," and Chase also (*D.B.*) "P. quotes St Paul with εἰδότες ὅτι, clearly marking it thereby as a quotation²").

We cannot therefore accuse our Redactor of any want of that sense of literary indebtedness which was not usually felt in his day. He goes out of his way to show that he is quoting τὰ προειρημένα ῥήματα³.

¹ οὐκ ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι, of which a classical instance is given above, seems to have a similar use in Rom. vi. 3, vii. 1, (a legal maxim), 1 Cor. x. 1.

² ὅτι alone introduces a citation, perhaps from some well-known manual, in Acts xiv. 22, where the sudden change of person is otherwise hard to account for.

³ As is well known, *Beati qui ante nos nostra dixerunt* was the motto of classical writers. The Attic orators (and not they only) joyfully incorporate reasonably relevant passages of earlier speeches, without acknowledgment.

(ii) διό.

There is yet another possible evidence of citation. A study of διό (occasionally διόπερ) in the N.T. will show its common presence in neighbourhood of citation. As a weak transitional particle, originally causal ("and so") it is natural enough in this use; but it seems to have become, for that very reason, familiarised in contexts containing citations.

We may note among other instances Heb. iii. 10 (no causal connection in LXX), xi. 12, xii. 12, Eph. iv. 25 (Zech. viii. 16), Ac. xx. 26 (cf. Ezek. xxxiii. 6), Rom. iv. 22 διὸ (καὶ) "ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην."

1 Pet. i. 13 (Lk. xii. 35, cf. Polycarp, Phil. ii.) διὸ "ἀναξωσάμενοι τὰς ὁσφύας..."

No doubt the full phrase is διὸ λέγει (φησὶν)¹ or an equivalent (so often in Philo; and see Ac. xiii. 35, Eph. iv. 8, v. 14, Heb. x. 5, Mt. xxvii. 8, Lc. i. 35, and a curious confusion in Heb. iii. 7 διὸ καθὼς λέγει...). A similar use may be seen in earlier Greek, e.g. Arist. *Pol.* ii. 2, 4 (1261 A) διόπερ "τὸ ἴσον...σφάζει τὰς πόλεις," quoted from the *Ethics*; or i. 2, 2 (1252 A) διὸ "δεσπότη καὶ δούλῳ ταυτὸ συμφέρει" which appears to be a slightly altered iambic line; i. 2, 8 (1252 B); i. 12, 3 (1259 B); i. 13, 11 (1260 A) (a quotation from the *Ajax*).

In Heb. iii. 10 διό appears to be used merely to pick up an already current citation. Such *may* be the use of διό in our Epistle i. 12 Διὸ "μελλήσω..." just as iii. 8 may be a similar reminder, ἐν δὲ τούτῳ μὴ λανθανέτω ὑμᾶς... ὅτι...(see the text above, pp. 10, 13).

¹ Clem. Alex. *Ecloga ex Scriptt. Proph.* xli. διὸ καὶ Πέτρος ἐν τῇ Ἀποκαλύψει φησί...

(iii) αὐτὸ τοῦτο.

There remains for discussion yet one more phrase, which (if our analysis is correct) serves also as an introduction to a citation, i. 5 καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο δέ...¹ usually taken as causal; but it is not causal in Xen. *Anab.* i. 9, 21 nor in Plato, *Republic*, 379 A, and probably not (in plural) in id. *Protagoras*, 310 E αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ νῦν ἤκω ("me voici"). The analogy of ἐκεῖνο (Lucian, *Nigr.* § 47, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο, "but, à propos"), τό γε, τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο (Plato, *Rep.* 473 B), τοῦτο μὲν followed by τοῦτο δέ, or equivalent (Soph. *Ajax* 670, *O.C.* 440, *Ant.* 61, 165, *Phil.* 1345) does not suggest a causal sense. Here the sense of reference is best... "through which we have received excellent ἐπαγγέλματα, that by these ye may become...and, on this very subject (possibly, as with διό, we may understand λέγει 'he says'), 'Bringing in all zeal....' "

(iv) ἐπαγγέλματα.

A last note upon evidence of conscious quotation must deal briefly with the word ἐπαγγέλματα, usually rendered "promises," as in iii. 13 (P). It may, at the present stage, be a begging of the question to point out that elsewhere E uses P's words with different significations (pp. 18, 19 above). But in any case it is strange to say "promises have been given (or 'he has given promises') as gifts," for δωρεῖσθαι is not διδόναι; it is *donare*, not *dare*; δεδωρημένα are tangible assets (see previous verse). Moreover we have a strange anti-climax if we read "His Divine

¹ For καὶ...δέ in neighbourhood of a citation see Macarius Magnes, *Apocritica*, iv. 7, p. 165 Καὶ ἐκεῖνο δὲ αὖθις λέγει (δέ is the copula, καὶ intensifies; "and, what is more...").

power has given us *all we want for life and holiness* through the knowledge of Him who called us by glory and virtue, by means of which He has given us the most precious *promises...*"; the ἐπαγγέλματα should balance and explain τὰ πρὸς ζωῆν as δεδώρηται balances δεδωρημένης. Further, there is an inversion of time: the "promises" came at the beginning, the "gifts" afterwards.

With regard to the meaning of ἐπάγγελμα¹, it is true that it may and does occasionally hark back to the signification of the middle voice of its corresponding verb, "to promise"; but the active signification is "to announce, pronounce, command"; and the middle itself has the further meaning of "to profess," in which it is technically used of philosophical schools, along with its noun ἐπάγγελμα (τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ἐπάγγελμα ὃ ἐπαγγέλλομαι, Plato, *Prot.* 319 A). ἐπάγγελμα may, therefore, and often does mean "a pronouncement" or "a command," and its passage into the meaning "precept" is an easy one. The ἐπαγγέλματα here are simply those "precepts" which, cast into a form suggesting a *memoria technica*², immediately follow (5 b-7).

¹ The force of the -μα termination itself is not here in question.

² Possibly from an early collection or Florilegium of moral precepts. On Early Christian Florilegia generally see Moffat, *Introd. N.T.* p. 258; Rendel Harris, *Expositor*, vii. 1905, pp. 161-171. How far such Florilegia of prophecies, precepts, Messianic texts, ready-to-hand arguments and proof, etc., whether Jewish or Christian in origin, underlie the N.T. books and Early Christian literature generally, it is hard to say. Moffat speaks of "their sequence of texts... (1 P. ii. 6-8), their special textual forms, their *editorial comments...*" It is a fragment of such a catena (i. 5b σπουδῆν-v. 7 ἀγάπην) which is here postulated, with its comment duly following (vv. 8-11). If our general hypothesis is correct, we are given to understand by the Editor, iii. 1, 2, that this passage, along with the Narrative, Prophecy, and Apocalypse, is authoritative; and he, at least, does not hesitate to attribute them to the Apostle Peter.

First we get the "Ladder of Virtues," and then a note on their value:

vv. 8 (affirmatively): If you have them, you will not be unfruitful; 9 (negatively): If you have them not, you are blind; 10, 11 (affirmatively): If you carry them into practice, you will never stumble, and only by doing so can you enter the Kingdom of Christ¹.

The repeated *ταῦτα*, with *οὕτως* of *v.* 11, certainly suggests reference to what has just preceded, by way of commendation².

The passage *vv.* 5 *b*–11 may, in fact, well have been the opening passage of some collection, and "Ἐπαγγέλματα" may well have been its title.

In any case it is striking enough that the narrative, the Story of the Transfiguration, is here literally flanked by Moses and Elias, the (moral) Law, and the Prophets: the "Ladder of Virtues," and the "Prophetic Discourse."

VII. SOME SPECIAL NOTES.

(i) *Συμεών*.

The reading *Συμεών* is the better attested.

Names transliterated into another tongue might not always be suitable for use by reason of embarrassing meanings. *Συμεών* as it stands is well, but its corresponding *ὑποκορισμός* (Theophylact), *Σιμών*, could not fail

¹ Note also that we have a kind of Pilgrim's Progress sketched out: ἀποφνύοντες, σπουδάσατε, οὐ μὴ πταίσητε, εἵσοδος εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν.

² A seeming parallel in 1 Tim. iv. 11 Παράγγελλε ταῦτα καὶ διδάσκε. ταῦτα is apparently the contents of *v.* 10, a citation introduced by πιστὸς ὁ λόγος (cf. *ib.* i. 15).

to suggest connection with *σιμός*, an uncomplimentary term (Theocr. iii. 8), as *Στράβων* suggests *στραβός*, etc.¹

St Paul evades the use of *Σαῦλος* when he begins his travels, as *Σίμων*, in narrative, is dropped after the Mission of the Twelve. Writing in Greek St Peter could use *Πέτρος*, as in 1 Pet. i. 1, the translation of *Κηφᾶς*, itself apparently a twin form of Caiaphas².

Συμεών in its only other occurrence in N. T. (Ac. xv. 14) is used of Peter in a *formal pronouncement* as it is in the present instance, according to our hypothesis.

(ii) *δοῦλος καὶ ἀπόστολος*.

The words are coupled under a single Genitive.

In Tit. i. they are opposed, *δ. θεοῦ ἀπ. δὲ Ἰ. Χριστοῦ*. In Rom. i. 1 they are apparently opposed. Jude and James have *δοῦλος* only; and these instances suggest equally that *δοῦλος* is a title of humility. In the case of Jude and James, if they are the "Brethren of the Lord," the word may be a palinode in brief (John vii. 5).

Where the word is used of someone else, it is apparently a title of honour (Col. iv. 12 "probably points to exceptional services in the cause of the Gospel on the part of Epaphras," Lightfoot; see also Apoc. x. 7, xv. 3).

Self-depreciation, even if only as a matter of courtesy, comes natural to the Oriental mind. It is difficult to feel that St Peter would have used *δοῦλος* in what appears to be a honorific sense, of himself. It is also difficult to

¹ Occasionally a honorific sense might result, as with Sargon ("mighty") for SHARRU-UKIN.

Chignell (*Outpost in Papua*, p. 355) mentions the difficulty of a Papuan desiring the name Arfur (Arthur), which means in the local dialect "a plague-sore, an embossed carbuncle."

² Hort's note on 1 Peter i. 1. Compare also Bigg, *ad loc.*

believe that anyone merely impersonating the Apostle would make such a mistake as to apply it to him. But it is easy to imagine that a writer collecting fragments which he considered Petrine, and prefixing a salutation, would go out of his way to speak both with solemnity (*Συμεών*) and with appreciation (*δοῦλος κ. ἀπόστολος*¹) of his master.

(iii) *ταύτην δευτέραν ἐπιστολήν.*

It may seem that discussion of iii. 1 has been unduly postponed. The relation of the verse, and its context, to Jude is deferred. It must however be clear at once that the one description given of the two Epistles suits our present Epistle well, but does not suit "1 Peter²." A writer impersonating the Apostle, and intending to refer to "1 Peter," would certainly have made sure that his description tallied.

It is moreover almost certain that an *Apostle* would not say "I remind you of the command of your apostles." It is almost equally certain that a writer impersonating St Peter would not have represented him as saying so.

The words are apparently quite honest. We may suppose with Zahn and Spitta a lost letter, but there appears to be an easier way.

First the words of the verse need inspection.

ταύτην δευτ. ἐπ....ἐν αἷς... is not, of course, "this second Epistle I write, in which..." but

"This (letter) I am writing to you, as a second³ letter, and in both letters, 'one' and 'two,' I attempt to..."

¹ Syr^{holl}, perhaps misunderstanding *δοῦλος*, omits *καὶ ἀπόστολος*.

² Harnack suggests that 1 Peter i. 1 f., v. 12 ff. are "editorial," and by the "author" of 2 Peter. But the inapplicability of the description of the Epistles to 1 Peter still remains.

³ The meaning "secondary," not "second," is quite possible. "This

ἐν αἰς, without antecedent, is obviously the relative connection, pure and simple.

ταύτην, by all laws, means "this now in hand."

γράφω, the present tense, has obviously its full present value. "I am now writing you this letter as No. 2" "...I am *now* stirring up..."

Next we observe ἡδη. It calls attention, apparently to the numeral, as elsewhere. "I am writing what is now a *second* letter¹."

Next, we must note the position of the verse—nearly four-fifths of the way down the Epistle. Authors referring to their immediate context write γράφω; referring to what goes before, or the Epistle as a whole, they normally write ἔγραψα (1 Pet. v. 12, Gal. vi. 11, 1 John ii. 26, v. 13, contrast with γράφω as used elsewhere); the more so, of course, if referring to an earlier letter (2 Cor. ii. 3, 4).

Is it not, in view of these considerations, at least reasonable to suppose that ταύτην ἡδη δευτ. γρ. ἐπ. ἐν αἰς...merely notes that the writer is resuming his pen after an interval?² He has said all that the occasion seemed to warrant (according to the present hypothesis, he has quoted the Apostolic ῥήματα which best suited his purpose) and has concluded with a formal and definite, if

second letter" would be ταύτην τὴν δευτέραν ἐπιστολήν, or, better, τὴν δευτέραν ἐπ. ταύτην....

¹ ἡδη almost suggests surprise: "I had only intended one."

² How, or why, one document in ancient times might become "tacked" on to another must often remain a mystery: e.g. the "Ephesian letter" at the end of "Romans," the "Little Apocalypse" in St Mark, and the possibly earlier letters embedded in later ones in 2 Cor. vi. 14–vii. 1 and x.–xiii. 10. The opening ταύτην ἡδη κ.τ.λ. is no more abrupt than αὐτὸς δὲ ἐγὼ Παῦλος or than Συνίστημι δὲ ὑμῖν Φοίβην... As Harnack (on 1 Peter, *Chronologie*, p. 458 ff.) points out, salutations

rather lame, conclusion; some delay occurs; the "former letter" is perhaps not yet despatched; he takes up his pen again, and writes, quite naturally—

"See! I am writing you now a second letter. In it, as in the former, I am not original, but am quoting passages which I wish you to lay to heart."

The apparent solecism of *ἐν αἰς* suggests that the two Epistles are really one. *ταύτην γράφω* refer to what is now in hand. It is "second" in relation to what stands already written¹.

(iv) ἡ ἐντολή.

What is the *ἐντολή* of verse 2? It is the "Lord's command through your Apostles"—a strange phrase in itself. *ἡ ἐντολή* may be collective; but it is certainly capable of another explanation.

The context gives us also "prophets." The only Apostle mentioned is St Paul; but the Epistle is headed with the name of St Peter. This suggests, at the least, that "Your Apostles" are the Apostles Peter and Paul. Where do we find prophets, Peter, and Paul together in a single context elsewhere? They are so found in Acts xv. 6 ff.

Peter speaks, in words which cannot help reminding us of the present Epistle (verses 8 and 9, cf. 2 Pet. i. 1 were easily removable, and as Deissmann has pointed out—a fact sufficiently obvious—papyrus rolls were most liable to damage at the beginning and the end.

¹ The doxology of 2 Peter would come much more appropriately at the end of Chapter ii. Verse 17 refers clearly to the contents of that Chapter, not to those of Ch. iii. May it perhaps have been shifted to its present place after the addition of the *δευτέρα ἐπιστολή*?

ἰσότημον πίστιν, verse 10, cf. ii. 18 supra); James sums up, using the formal Συμεών (on which see above); Barnabas and Paul having presented a report, James at once quotes "the prophets" (Jer. xii. 15).

And when the two delegates, Barnabas and Paul, are sent, there are joined to them Judas and Silas, of whom it is specially said that they also (cf. Acts xiii. 1) are *prophets*.

The particular command there issued was no doubt now out of date; but in face of false teaching of a different kind the mind of our writer goes back to the first encroachment of false teachers (ἐμπαῖκται, Acts xv. 24) and to the particular command sent also to Churches composed of Jews and Gentiles (Mayor, Introd. p. cxxxvi) as the result of important declarations made by those whom the writer calls "your Apostles," namely Peter and Paul, and actually handed over by the latter of these (ii. 21) to the Churches in question.

(v) ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος.

i. 19 ἔχομεν βεβαιότερον τὸν προφητικὸν λόγον.

The general meaning is "We have fuller confirmation of the Prophetic word," i.e. The vision just described "permanently strengthens" (Mayor: the present tense is to be noticed) our faith in the "Prophetic Word." For ἔχ. βεβ. Mayor (after Field) quotes Isocr. *ad Dem.* p. 10 τὴν παρ' ἐκείνων εὐνοίαν βεβαιωτέραν ἔχειν, Chaeremon ap. Stob. *Flor.* 79, 31 βεβαιωτέραν ἔχε τὴν φιλίαν, and for ἔχω in this usage, 1 Pet. ii. 12 τὴν ἀναστροφὴν ἔχοντες καλήν, cf. *ib.* iv. 8.

We may fairly say that it is as if the author had written *καὶ βεβαίωται ἡμῖν ὁ πρ. λόγος*.

In what way then is *ὁ πρ. λόγος* "more fully confirmed by" what has immediately preceded? (Alford's suggestion that the comparison is between miracle and prophecy from their apologetic standpoint can hardly be sustained.) The reply is, that *παρουσία*, a "presence" in some sense of God with man, is the main subject of prophecy, and that actual first-hand proof of such *παρουσία* is a very high confirmation of prophecy in general. Such a first-hand proof the writer has just given, attested by the citation of the words actually spoken by the Heavenly Voice. The Transfiguration, viewed as a *παρουσία*, is a remarkable confirmation of "the Prophetic Word." The two, taken together, supply all the data of faith (Clem. Alex. p. 778 *πεπίστευκεν διὰ τε τῆς προφητείας διὰ τε τῆς παρουσίας*).

But what then is meant by *ὁ πρ. λόγος*? It is usually taken to mean the whole body of Messianic prophecy. It may be questioned whether in this case it would not have been necessary to write *αἱ προφητικαὶ γραφαί* (see Rom. xvi. 26 *διὰ τε γραφῶν προφητικῶν*). In the first place the collective use of *λόγος*, properly used of a single literary unit, whether speech, or dialogue, or historical essay, is strange and unnecessary, and in the second the article (in the use of which, as Mayor has pointed out, 2 P. is more classical than most of the books of the N. T.) seems to point to a definite *λόγος*, a definite literary unit, which the writer had in view. We find *ὁ πρ. λόγος* in the following passages (from Mayor) Philo, *de Plantat.* M. i. p. 347; *Leg. All.* M. i. p. 95 *ὁ πρ. λόγος φησὶν* (obviously="the prophetic book"); Justin, *Apol.* i.

56 (p. 276) Θεὸν αὐτὸν ὄντα ὁ πρ. λόγος σημαίνει, 77 (p. 302) ὁ πρ. λόγος ἔφη; and elsewhere in this sense in the singular; while it is used in the plural (οἱ πρ. λόγοι) when it is intended to be used more generally, as is usually postulated for the present instance.

But the critical case of ὁ πρ. λόγος for our immediate purpose is that in "2 Clement" xi. λέγει γὰρ καὶ ὁ πρ. λόγος. Here there can be no doubt whatever that (as in Philo and Justin) ὁ πρ. λόγος refers to a definite prophetic work which Lightfoot conjectures to have been "Eldad and Modad." The quotation which follows here is also given in 1 Clement, where instead of ὁ πρ. λόγος is given ἡ γραφή αὕτη—a very clear proof that a single writing is intended. These two passages will best be considered in parallel columns, but we shall add at the same time the similar passage from our own Epistle.

CLEM. ROM. (1 CLEMENT.)	2 CLEMENT.	2 PETER.
πόρρω γενέσθω ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἡ γραφή αὕτη, ὅπου λέγει·	...[ταλαίπωροι ἐσόμεθα.] λέγει γὰρ ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος·	
ταλαίπωροί εἰσιν οἱ δίψυχοι, οἱ διστάζοντες τῇν ψυχὴν, οἱ λέγοντες·	ταλαίπωροί εἰσιν οἱ δίψυχοι οἱ διστάζοντες τῇ καρδίᾳ, οἱ λέγοντες·	iii. 3....[ἐλεύσονται ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐμπαίκεται]
ταῦτα ἠκούσαμεν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, καὶ ἰδοῦ, γεγηράκαμεν καὶ οὐδὲν ἡμῖν τούτων συνβέβηκεν.	ταῦτα πάντα ἠκούσαμεν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν [ἡμεῖς δὲ ἡμέραν ἐξ ἡμέρας προσδεχόμενοι οὐδὲν τούτων ἐωράκαμεν.]	ἡ ἐπαγγελία τῆς παρ- ουσίας αὐτοῦ; ἀφ' ἧς γὰρ οἱ πατέρες ἐκοιμή- θησαν, πάντα οὕτω διαμένει ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως...
ἂ ἀνόητοι, συμβάλετε ἑαυτοὺς ξύλῳ· λάβετε ἄμπελον·	Ἀνόητοι, συμβάλετε ἑαυτοὺς ξύλῳ· λάβετε ἄμπελον·	[freely adapted, and exaggerated, to suit the spirit of the ἐμπαίκεται.]

CLEM. ROM.
(1 CLEMENT.)

2 CLEMENT.

2 PETER.

πρῶτον μὲν
φυλλοροεῖ
εἶτα βλαστὸς
γίγνεται, εἶτα φύλλον,
εἶτα ἄνθος, καὶ μετὰ
ταῦτα ὄμφαξ, εἶτα
σταφυλὴ παρεστηκυῖα.
(end of citation
from the γραφή)

πρῶτον μὲν
φυλλοροεῖ,
εἶτα βλαστὸς
γίγνεται,
μετὰ
ταῦτα ὄμφαξ, εἶτα
σταφυλὴ παρεστηκυῖα.
(end of citation from the
πρ. λόγος)
οὕτω
καὶ ὁ λαὸς μου ἀκαταστα-
σίας καὶ θλίψεις ἔσχεν, ἔπει-
τα ἀπολήψεται τὰ ἀγαθά.

[? cf. Jude 12 δέν-
δρα φθινοπωρινά.
Jude's ἀποδιορίζοντες
(19) may be an at-
tempt to paraphrase
διστάζοντες above.]

...συννεπιμαρτυρούσης
καὶ τῆς γραφῆς ὅτι
"τάχυν ἥξει καὶ οὐ
χρονιεῖ καὶ ἐξαίφνης
ἥξει..."

iii. 10 ἥξει δὲ ἡ ἡμέρα
Κυρίου ὡς κλέπτῃς...
(adapted to Mt. xxiv.
43 (Lc. xii. 39))

The comparison of these passages seems to show (1) that Clement, "2 Clement," and 2 Peter, quote from the same "Prophetic Discourse," whether independently or not; (2) that ὁ πρ. λόγος in "2 Clement" (ἡ γραφή in Clement) refers to a discourse (Lightfoot suggests, with Holtzmann, "Eldad and Modad"); (3) that ὁ πρ. λόγος in 2 Peter i. 19 probably similarly refers to a definite "Prophetic Discourse," recognised as such, in the course of which this very "Eldad and Modad," the πρ. λόγος of 2 Clement, is laid under contribution; (4) that "Jude" is apparently influenced, mediately or immediately, by the simile of the Vine in the "Discourse" of "2 Clement," and possibly by the word διστάζοντες in the opening verse of the citation from the "Discourse." "Jude" and 2 Peter, therefore, have gone to the same quarry.

THE VINE	THE TREES
(In "Clement")	(In "Jude")
shows signs of death	show signs of death in autumn
revives	do not revive
bears fruit	do not bear fruit (ἄκαρπα)

There is the "Nature death" of autumn. *That* both vine and trees share. But the trees die both with this mimic death and with actual death. They are then, as cumberers of the ground, rooted up¹.

To return now to our Epistle.

"We have, thanks to the Παρουσία of the Transfiguration², fuller confirmation of the Prophetic Discourse." Of what "Discourse"? Of that, we reply, which extends from ii. 20, opening appropriately with the words Πᾶσα προφητεία...(and ultimately merging into Apocalypse), in which use is made of *another* "Prophetic Discourse," known also as such to other writers.

¹ Jude here as elsewhere (see R. A. Falconer in *Expositor*, vi. series vi.), using either 2 Peter or that which underlies 2 Peter, "verifies his references" and adds from the context of the original. Neither he nor the author of 2 Peter ii. 20 seqq. can be accused of "Apocryphen-scheu."

² Chase's analysis, "What is more abiding than a fleeting voice we possess in the prophetic word," is surely wrong. The One Voice direct from heaven is of more value than utterances given πολυμερῶς through prophets.

(vi) *The Voice.*

i. 17. *The Παρουσία* of the Transfiguration¹ is confirmation of the Prophetic Discourse of which, in general, *παρουσία* is a subject.

But there is more. The writer has heard Heavenly Words. Other Apostolic qualifications (Acts iv. 41) might be shared with others; to have heard these words on the Holy Mount was a qualification shared by three only, of whom one at least² met an early death.

St Paul quotes also *ipsissima verba* (Acts xxii. 7-9), not heard by others; and also claims (2 Cor. xii. 4) to have heard *ἄρρητα ῥήματα*, words which no man might utter.

The Transfiguration Narrative, therefore, so far from being out of place, is of the highest importance as the sign manual of one who knows. Prophecy and Apocalyptic need credentials; the Prophets and Apocalyptists of the Old Testament, and the Apocalyptist of the New, relate their visions and their commissions. Apocalyptic, especially, seems even to demand some excuse or apology (cf. Mc. xiii. 4). What can the *ἐμπαίκεται* answer to credentials such as these?

¹ Chase is troubled by the mention of the Transfiguration, while other events of our Lord's life, e.g. the Resurrection, are omitted. If the "fragments" are Petrine (see below, pp. 64, 65, notes) we have a reason why that which had been already enshrined in the earliest gospel, at St Peter's prompting, was not here repeated, except what is directly to the purpose.—All such arguments against Petrine authorship tell also against authorship by any sort of "forger."

² Our present point is strengthened if we accept with Bousset and others the early death of John also.

(vii) *The reference to the Pauline letters.*

In the mouth of an Editor, writing in the second century, the reference to the Pauline letters is natural enough. It is noteworthy that 2 Peter, *as a whole*, shows a remarkable absence of traces of Pauline thought. If the writer of iii. 15 were the writer of 2 Peter as a whole, would not such an admirer of the Pauline letters have tinged his whole "Epistle" with Pauline reminiscences? As it is, the cleavage is clearly marked: here, and in other "editorial" sections¹ we have open admiration, or the flattery of imitation; elsewhere almost complete detachment.

(viii) *The Personal Pronouns.*

The salutation gives both first and second personal pronouns. The pronoun of the first person does not then (as so often with a modern preacher) include the audience or recipients. On the contrary the run of thought is "*we*" possess certain gifts which *you* may possess, and by which you, too, may become partakers of the Divine Nature."

"We" is not necessarily the Apostles or even the first generation of Christians ("2 Clement" 9, Χριστὸς... ἐγένετο σὰρξ καὶ οὕτως ἡμᾶς ἐκάλεσεν). It seems to be used generally of a body of Christians of whom the writer is one, either Jewish or at least in possession of special privileges *not yet extended* to the recipients of the "letter."

In i. 12-18, we find first person plural and first person singular alternating. Here the speaker and those classed with him *have already* made known "the power and

¹ In the preface especially, as we have seen.

² The evidence is for ἡμῖν in i. 4.

presence" of him whom they call "*Our Lord*." In verse 18 the first person plural is obviously used by, or pretends to be used by, Apostles only.

It is difficult therefore to reconcile the "We" of i. 1-5*a* with the "We" of i. 12-18.

As to the second persons, in i. 1-5*a* "you" denotes those who are to *look forward* to ἐπίγνωσις and κοινωνία θείας φύσεως; in i. 12-18 "you" denotes those who are so far "instructed and confirmed in the truth" by the facts already "made known" that the writer must positively apologise for "reminding" them.

It is difficult therefore to reconcile the "You" of i. 1-5*a* with the "You" of i. 12-18.

In i. 19 the first person is used, as in i. 18, but it is not emphatic, and, once more, those who are addressed are looking forward to illumination; in the same stage, that is, as the "You" of i. 1-5*a*, and not as the "You" of i. 12-18.

In iii. 1-2 the speaker in the singular directly dissociates himself from the Apostles, whom he calls "your Apostles." His purpose is similar to that of i. 12-13, but the "I" of i. 12-13 merges into the "We," used obviously of Apostles, in i. 18. The "I" of iii. 1 is therefore incompatible with the "I" of i. 12.

In iii. 14-18 "We" occurs thrice in general reference ("our brother Paul" does not suggest necessarily that the writer or speaker is an Apostle).

VIII. "JUDE" AND 2 PETER.

Hitherto we have been largely in the region of mere conjecture, even if it is borne out by indications of style and language. We now come to a question of bare fact.

It is no part of the present essay to collect once more arguments for and against the priority of Jude. The very fact that arguments either way appear to their maintainers to be of equal cogency seems to show that on traditional lines we shall never reach a conclusion. It will have appeared all along that, supposing "2 Peter" to be a frame-work supporting and uniting certain documents, these documents may have been accessible without the frame-work; and that both Jude and 2 Peter (as we now know it) may have made use of the common document or documents. The "document-theory" has by most modern editors been rudely cast aside; but they have, without it, led us to no sort of finality.

The crucial question is, does "Jude" quote what we have designated as E? Or does he quote P (our "documents") only? Of course he might possess our present Epistle, and, recognising the frame-work as such, cast it aside as useless for reproduction. The probability however is that if he knew E he would quote E also.

"Jude," in the first place, professes no originality. He writes in haste, in an emergency, and seizes what comes to hand. This material is that which we possess in the present Epistle: and Jude follows carefully its present order.

The salutation will be discussed presently, as also the parallels Jude 17, || 2 Peter iii. 1; Jude 24, || 2 Peter iii. 17.

The mass of the parallel verses occur Jude 4-16, 2 Peter ii. 1-18. We must be cautious of making too much of individual words. A few observations follow on such parallels as appear to need special note.

Jude 6, 2 Pet. ii. 4; Jude 7, id. ii. 6.

The saving of Lot does not suit Jude's sterner teaching.

Jude 9, 2 Pet. ii. 11.

Jude particularises. Apparently *ισχυῖ* suggests to him *ἀρχ-άγγελος*. Jude apparently notes the reference to Enoch, and while not using this particular instance, recurs to the book later on¹.

Jude 11, 2 Pet. ii. 15.

Jude is fond of sets of three (*vv.* 5, 6, 7, 8, 19, 20) and adds two further examples to that of Balaam. He flanks Balaam (covetousness) with Cain (blasphemy, not murder; Cain was the early type of a materialist)² and Korah (gainsaying of authority). All three meet a disastrous end.

It can hardly be a chance that *μισθὸν ἰδικίας* occurs twice in a few verses in 2 Peter³, and there may be a special reason for the recurrence. Verse 12 *γεγεννημένα*

¹ Of "2 Peter's" construction here it is almost impossible to make anything (see Spitta's efforts). A remedy of despair is to suppose a verb omitted before *φέρουσιν* (e.g. *ἀντιλέγουσιν*), and *φέρουσιν* to be dative plural... "do not gainsay those who are the bearers of an adverse verdict from (or, in the presence of) the Lord against them." See Jude 11 *ἀντιλογία*, which a lost *ἀντιλέγουσιν* may have suggested.

² Targum Hierosol. ad Gen. iv. 7.

³ Also (in St Peter's solemn speech) in Acts i. 18.

εἰς φθοράν suggests, at least, Mt. xxvi. 24, of Judas. ἀδικούμενοι μισθὸν ἀδικίας, difficult though it appears, now receives its full meaning "wronged in respect of pay for wrong-doing." Judas found his "payment" a loathing to him. It drove him to a kind of repentance, but it also drove him to a terrible death. The coveted silver turned on him, like a traitorous accomplice. He was "wronged in respect of wrong's reward."

Other possible references to Judas are κατάρas τέκνα in 2 Peter, and possibly (Jude again seizing and elaborating a suggestion) ἐξεχύθησαν¹ and οὐαί (only used in the Gospels by Christ Himself) of Jude 11.

Jude 12, 2 Peter ii. 13.

In 2 Peter ἀγάπαις (if original) meant "lusts" (see ἀγαπᾶν in verse 15), an abstract plural like ἀσέλγεια, εὐσέβεια. But Jude apparently understands it in the technical sense of "feasts," helped by the context (ἐντρύφῶντες, συνευχούμενοι). This suggests that Jude and his original belong to different strata of language.

"Rock," in the name Κηφᾶς or Πέτρος, had an honourable sound. It would be strange for anyone in the Apostolic circle to use it in a derogatory sense. Unless a suggestion already made, that the variant σπιλάδες)(σπίλοι arises in some way from incorrect transcription of tachygraph, has any value, we can only suppose that Jude again touches up his original and coins σπιλάς from σπίλος, believing it in

¹ In N.T. ἐκχέειν (-χύνειν) is literal, or in a derived sense easily understood, except here. In the LXX. it is used of water "spilt" Ps. xxii. 15, a natural image of utter annihilation (cf. Lam. ii. 19; Job xxx. 16, x. 10; Is. liii. 12; Zeph. i. 17). In the case of Judas the verb could be used whether literally or metaphorically, both of body or soul (Acts i. 18).

this shape (compare *φυγάς*, *δρομάς*, *φοιτάς*, etc.) to have a more contemptuous ring.

Jude 12, 13, 2 Peter ii. 17.

The rainless cloud, the waterless oasis, the mists, the angry waves (the sea being a strange element to the Jew) are natural symbols for emptiness and violence. 2 Peter in *δελεάζουσιν* (18) seems to suggest mirage also, and in *τοὺς ὀλίγως κ.τ.λ.*....a hairbreadth escape from wandering Bedouins.

If we are at all correct in the belief that the fragments we designate as P formed part of some popular, perhaps official, Florilegium, it is clear that the arrangement of the moral Fragment (the "ladder of virtues"), the repetitions contained in the comments thereon (i. 8-11), the imagery of these comments (*ἀκάρπους*, *τυφλὸς μυωπάζων*, *οὐ μὴ πταίσητε*,—the Pilgrim's Progress through the Twilight,—*ἐπιχορηγηθήσεται ἡ εἴσοδος*—the Triumphal Entry into the Light)—the personal note of the Narrative, with its appeal to the Heavenly Voice—the vigour of the "Prophetic Discourse," its appeals to history—Noah, Lot, Balaam—its Palestinian tropes—the oasis waterless, the mists swept into the darkness; the Apocalypse with its elemental contrasts, water and fire, and the vigorous "hell-fire" appeal at the close; these are, at all events, admirably suited for their special purpose, whatever else we may think of them.

We return now to three instances where it may appear that Jude cites not these original fragments but the redactor or editor himself.

Jude 3, 2 Peter ii. 21.

This verse of Jude probably has reference to 2 Peter i.

12 (P), and its supposed reference to ii. 21 is based on a single word *παραδοθείση* (-ης). *παράδοσις* is a Pauline word (1 Cor. xi. 2, 2 Thess. ii. 15, iii. 6), and there is no reason why the verb should have been borrowed here. What is important is that Jude completely ignores the context, verses 20–22; we cannot lay stress on *μιάσματα* (Jude 8 *μιαίνουσιν*) and *σωτήρος*.

Next the salutations.

Salutations follow regular lines, and coincidence is easier to prove than connection. The coincidence here lies in *Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δοῦλος, τοῖς, Θεοῦ(-ῳ), Ἰ. Χτῶ(-οῦ), ὑμῖν εἰρήνη πληθυνθείη*, all words of a type met elsewhere.

There is a distinct difference of feeling or "atmosphere" between the salutations. *δοῦλος* in J is apparently a title of humility, in 2 Pet. it suggests a title of honour. The description of the recipients is quite different, as also the greeting (J *ἔλεος κ. εἰρήνη κ. ἀγάπη*, 2 Peter *χάρις κ. εἰρήνη*)¹. We cannot here prove connection.

The conclusions also differ.

Jude's *προσδεχόμενοι* (21) belongs rather, if at all, to the *προσδοκᾶν* of 2 Peter iii. 12, 13, than to that of v. 14. The only real parallel is *ἄσπιλοι* (2 Peter) *ἐσπιλωμένοι* (J); but see 2 Peter iii. 13 (P) where the context much more closely suggests that of Jude.

J's doxology reflects none of the striking peculiarities of that of 2 Peter. *ἀπταίστους* (J) harks back to 2 Peter i. 10 (P) which J seems to have studied, but has not

¹ It may be that E who uses *ἀγαπητοί* so readily in addressing his readers would feel that to wish them "abundance of *ἀγάπη*" might be superfluous. While *ἀγαπητοί* suggests personal affection, we may here note a suspicion that in its use E "doth protest too much."

incorporated. *ἡμέραν αἰῶνος* of 2 Peter has no echo in J.

While therefore we can prove consecutive use of the "*προφητικὸς λόγος*" by Jude, we can find nothing to prove connection in salutation or conclusion.

There remain Jude 17 and 2 Peter iii. 2.

Here a connection of some kind appears obvious.

Not, however, that it is necessary. Jude has told us that while intending to write an explicit letter on "the common salvation" circumstances drove him to write instead, and at once (contrast the tenses), a brief exhortation to fight for the faith. Now in verse 17 he tells us further that such a letter is not original. It is a reminder of Apostolic utterances. He then quotes one such utterance (*v.* 18).

The writer in our present Epistle is also confessedly unoriginal. He too recalls both "prophetic" and Apostolic utterances. That he who so leans upon the words of others cannot himself be the Leader of the Apostles, seems obvious. He also quotes (*γινώσκοντες ὅτι*) the same utterance.

The purpose being the same and the citation the same, there is small marvel that the introductory sentences should be similar. On the face of it, however, a real connection appears likely.

Hitherto Jude has been the particulariser of the general statements of 2 Peter (see Jude 9, 11).

Now it is 2 Peter who is particular, and that in two ways: first he speaks, correctly, of "prophets," and secondly, at the risk of an awkward quadruple genitive, he speaks not of "Apostles" merely, but of "your Apostles," apparently Peter and Paul.

It is E therefore who, when incorporating a presumably apostolic passage, of which Jude has previously made use, looks up Jude's introductory or editorial remarks, and makes them precise and definite in place of vague and general.

Our reconstruction of the relation of Jude and 2 Peter is as follows:

Certain detached passages, *Fliegende Blätter*¹, called into existence by special circumstances, of apostolic date, and (probably) origin, were at some early time collected together, perhaps under the title *ἐπαγγέλματα*, perhaps *ρήματα*. These passages, reminiscent of actual teaching, were specially adapted for use by early Christian teachers, and were thrown into convenient form either for memory, or to impress and arrest an audience. They were of various kinds—exhortation (*κήρυγμα*), narrative (*εὐαγγέλιον*), prophecy (*προφητεία*), apocalyptic (*ἀποκάλυψις*), and had come to be associated with the Apostle Peter, whose *imprimatur* would be necessary, even if they were not actually his work.

After the first outburst of oral teaching, and as the need for a formal literature arose, these selections would be less in request, though we cannot say how far such handbooks of selections have not contributed to our present New Testament literature. They would also be laid under contribution for later apocryphal works, which indeed they may actually have suggested.

Four of these passages, of a striking kind, and traditionally (perhaps accurately) ascribed to the Apostle Peter, existing perhaps as a separate brochure, have

¹ The "little Apocalypse" of Mc. xiii. is often, and no doubt rightly, described as a "fly-sheet" of this kind.

certainly survived (five, if the "Little Apocalypse" be one; more, perhaps, are embedded in the Pastorals).

Jude (whoever he was) having need to write a hasty Epistle of exhortation, finds nothing more ready to hand than one of these passages (the *προφητεία* or *προφητικὸς λόγος*, itself containing an apocryphal citation). At what time he writes, we cannot say: probably at the end of the first century¹. He does not quote the *ipsissima verba* of his document, but paraphrases, alters, adds.

A good deal later there arise similar circumstances elsewhere. A devout and conscientious worker, with Jude's letter probably at hand, writes a similar, but longer letter (or letters), in and by which he preserves not only one but four of the documents bearing the name of Peter. He consults "Jude's" editing. Soon the original documents, existing perhaps in rare copies, are lost, while their titles remain; and works are written up to these titles by later controversialists.

The question of date of this final composition now engages us.

¹ The suggestions made above, for convenience of discussion, are repeated more fully in the summary on pp. 63 ff.

IX. SUB-APOSTOLIC REFERENCES TO 2 PETER; PROBABLE DATE AND ORIGIN.

"Phrases quoted from the Apostolic and sub-Apostolic Fathers as indicating an acquaintance with 2 Peter are wholly inconclusive" (M. R. James).

Such phrases are collected by Mayor, Spitta, Bigg, and others¹. Of these a few only require special mention here.

(1) Clement of Rome xxiii. 2 (the relation of the *προφητικὸς λόγος* of Clement and of "2 Clement" to that of 2 Peter has been discussed), *ἐπὶ ταῖς ὑπερβαλλούσαις καὶ ἐνδόξοις δωρεαῖς αὐτοῦ*, *ib.* 35 *τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων δωρεῶν* have been referred to 2 Peter i. 4 (E): a very doubtful reference, possibly an adaptation of 2 Cor. iii. 10. Nor can anything be made of *ἀκολουθήσωμεν τῇ ὁδῷ τῆς ἀληθείας* in the same passage, even though *ἀμώμῳ* precedes.

Nor can anything safely be predicted of *id.* ix. 2 *λειτουργήσαντας τῇ μεγαλοπρεπεῖ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ*, cf. 2 Peter i. 17 *τῆς μεγαλοπρεποῦς δόξης*².

From "2 Clement" Spitta quotes explicit references. That the homily reflects the general spirit of "2 Peter" seems more sure than the correspondence of individual phrases. No reference to any passage which we have regarded as "editorial" can be proved: e.g. *εἰλικρινής* in

¹ They are made a good deal too much of by Grosch (*op. cit.*), whose general arguments, however, for the "genuineness" of 2 Peter can (with those of others) be whole-heartedly accepted so far as affects P.

² Expressions like these, references to gifts, and honorific titles like *θεία δύναμις*, with similar phrases, seem to belong to the language of imperial adulation or bureaucracy (see the Carian inscription referred to by Deissmann and any of the official papyri; e.g. Pap. Tebt. 33, line 6, *μεγαλοπρεπέστερον ἐγδεχθήτω*, "let him be received with a certain amount of splendour").

2 Clement ix. 8 is used apparently in a different sense from that of 2 Peter (*εὐλικρινὴς διάνοια*, "Pure Reason"), namely in the sense in which the adjective once, and the noun thrice, occurs in Pauline writings.

Possible references to non-"editorial" passages are:

2 Clement vii. 1 = 2 Peter ii. 15

2 Clement xvi. 3 = 2 Peter iii. 10 and possibly

2 Clement viii. 4 = 2 Peter ii. 4, 9 and

2 Clement xiii. 3 = 2 Peter ii. 10.

Passages from Irenaeus, Melito, Justin Martyr, Aristides (Bigg remarks on Aristides, *Apol.* xvi., = 2 Peter i. 11, ii. 2 "this seems a clear case"), Tatian (*Or. ad Graecos*, xv.) are all from the non-"editorial" passages, the documents, that is, which we believe to have been extant in some collection before being utilised either by "Jude" or by the redactor of our present Epistle.

The first reference—to which any weight can be attached—to any "editorial" section occurs in Theophilus of Antioch (d. 183–5), *ad Autol.* ii. c. 13, ἡ διάταξις οὖν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦτό ἐστιν, ὁ Λόγος αὐτοῦ φαίνων ὥσπερ λύχνος ἐν οἰκῇματι συνεχομένῳ ἐφώτισεν τὴν ὑπὸ οὐρανόν: compare 2 Peter i. 19.

But we are probably justified in seeing direct reference to "editorial" as well as other passages in the "Apocalypse of Peter," which may probably be dated between 120 and 140, inclining to the latter date. It cannot be at all certain that the "Apocalypse of Peter" mentioned in the Muratorian Canon is this Apocryphal Apocalypse¹. It may reasonably be held that the Muratorianum refers to the Apocalypse which now forms part of 2 Peter, and which existed at Rome perhaps in some

¹ See Zahn's arguments in *N.T. Kanon*, II. pp. 105 ff.

mysterious conjunction with the "Little Apocalypse" of the Marcan Gospel, and similar documents.

The references from the "Apocalypse of Peter" are nearly all to chapter ii. of 2 Peter, with apparently a clear reference to i. 19 (E)¹. What is of first importance to our present contention is the abruptness of the "Apocalypse" itself. We cannot say how much of the opening portion is lost, but as the main subject of the book—the Apocalyptic Vision—is opened in section 2, it seems certain that the discourse of which section 1 is a fragment cannot have been very long, as it would otherwise have delayed seriously the opening of the central thought of the book. There is no actual evidence that the fragments given by Macarius Magnes really preceded section 2.

The author of the "Apocalypse" appears, therefore, to make use of the Evangelistic Fragment, the Prophetic Fragment, and the Apocalyptic Fragment of our present Epistle, but not in the order in which they there occur. He begins at once with the "προφητικὸς λόγος," harks back to the Narrative² (§ 2 τὸ ὄρος), apparently refers, by a mere phrase (τόπος αὐχμηρός) to an "editorial" comment, and then enters upon his main subject of Apocalypse³, in which also occur at least two references to "editorial" sections of 2 Peter.

¹ A. E. Simms in *Expositor*, Series v. Vol. viii. minimises these parallels, pointing out that the atmosphere, spiritual and verbal, is different. To the Transfiguration narrative he sees direct reference; and concludes that the author of the Apocalypse seeks to suggest Petrine authority by a parade of coincidences with 2 Peter.

² The Ethiopic version contains an appearance of Moses and Elias, and the utterance of a Voice.

³ The same version gives a description of the final conflagration.

The fact that the beginning of the "Apocalypse" coincides with the beginning of the *προφητικὸς λόγος* of 2 Peter is important. The impression we receive from a study of the parallels between the two documents is that (i) the author of the "Apocalypse" recognises the documents which underlie the present Epistle as separate documents. The first he ignores as not germane to his purpose; but he opens with the opening of the second. (ii) He does not feel tied to the order in which he finds them. It is more convenient to him to wedge in the Narrative, as giving weight to the Prophecy, between the opening words, taken from the Prophecy, and the Apocalyptic passage which is the main portion of his work. Thus he uses the Narrative as "additional confirmation" (2 Pet. i. 19) not so much for Prophecy as for Apocalypse. (iii) He knows, but makes only passing reference to—as if they were of little account—the "editorial" bridges between the different fragments¹. He condescends to borrow from them a word or two (*αὐχμηρός*—possibly in a different sense—*βόρβορος*, *ἐκυλίντο*).

The "Apocalypse" cannot accurately be dated²; but as it may precede the Muratorian Fragment (*circa* 170–200) and probably must precede the Viennese letter (*c.* 177), we cannot well date it later than *circa* 150.

Our present Epistle then, as we now know it, was put together before that date; and, as the history of the Canon suggests, it may have been so put together in Egypt.

¹ The same statement applies to the conjectural portions of the Apocalypse as pieced together from the "Testament" and the "Apocalypse of Paul," both being based on "The Apocalypse of Peter."

² For strong reasons supporting the view given above, that the Apocalypse is later than 2 Peter in its present form, see Bigg, *Int. Crit. Commentary*, pp. 207.

The history may perhaps be finally reconstructed thus.

There were certain documents of a fragmentary nature, fly-sheets¹, either written, or at least collected, for the use of Christian instructors. If not of Apostolic origin, they had at least some Apostolic *imprimatur*. They were Ἐπαγγέλματα, Προειρημένα ῥήματα, Προφητικοὶ λόγοι, perhaps Ὑπομνήσεις or Ὑπομνήματα (the word is used by Appian and by Thucydides (iv. 126) in the sense of "Reminders"; its use of the "Memoranda" of philosophers and others is well known). They could either actually be traced to, or came to be attributed to, certain Apostles, and the fragments which form our present Epistle were attributed to Peter². Apparently the fourth fragment, the Apocalyptic passage, was not circulated with, or bound up with, the others.

Such documents, circulated probably privately, could not fail to be of value when attacks on the faith began. The author of "Jude" is the first to use them. He was purposing a general Epistle, when the discovery of false teachers on the spot (παρεισεδύησαν γάρ τινες ἄνθρωποι) caused him to write a brief Epistle of exhortation based from beginning to end upon a "prophetic document"

¹ The use of this term in reference to the "Little Apocalypse" of the Marcan Gospel has already been noted. It also was esoteric; and if it existed as a separate document was at first intended only for private circulation. See Streeter in *Oxford Studies*.

² Full weight must be given to the arguments of R. A. Falconer, Zahn, Spitta, Grosch, and others, which go to prove that 2 Peter may well be genuine work of the Apostle, rough hewn, so far as style goes, in contrast to 1 Peter, which, if genuine, has had the benefit of scholarly rewriting by some friend of the Apostle. Of those marks of the Epistle which go to prove late date, all are in "editorial" sections, with the exception of the reference to "the fathers" iii. 3, and this, being expressly a citation, cannot be pressed as a proof of date.

which accurately described the very type of deceiver which he had to fear. So striking an instance of "the cap fitting" could not be ignored. He utilises freely, without actually quoting, this prophetic document, the appropriateness of which perhaps justifies his hasty publication. He "verifies his references" as he goes along and adds striking instances so suggested¹. He quotes indirectly, as does his original directly, a passage from "Eldad and Modad," and acts upon suggestions given by this citation. In his haste he seems to misunderstand his original (see note on ἀγάπαις above). But he produces a vigorous brochure, and sets a precedent which is followed about 130 A.D. by a writer in Alexandria², who, scared at the appearance of a different form of false belief³, not yet dangerous, but certain to become so, follows the example of "Jude," and publishes what had been intended for private circulation. Our new editor publishes all that he finds: not only the "Prophetic Discourse" utilised by "Jude" but also a moral fragment (apparently intended for committal to memory) and a Narrative⁴.

¹ In two instances it is rather difficult to explain his additions. v. 15 ἀμαρτωλοὶ ἀσεβεῖς, v. 18 τῶν ἀσεβειῶν—neither of which is required in their respective sentences—almost suggest indignant exclamations on the author's part. With the latter, if so, compare Eur. *Bacchæ*, 263.

² For the probability of Alexandrian origin of 2 Peter see Chase *D. B.* III. pp. 816 ff. The history of the Canon tends the same way.

³ Perhaps the Carpocratian heresy (? circa 125-130) in its early days. The future tenses of 2 Peter ii. show that the original document was also written at the beginning of a heretical movement (on which see Falconer, *Expositor*, VI. vi., who considers that there is evidence of early date in the absence of a developed theosophical system, of Chiliasm, and of a marked ecclesiastical organisation).

⁴ The present writer confesses to the belief, based on internal grounds, that this fragment at least is genuinely Petrine. Dr Chase's arguments *e silentio* against Petrine authorship cannot be held cogent.

pecially adapted as an introduction to Prophecy. Having welded these together he closes his Epistle; but further search or enquiry reveals an Apocalyptic document also, and this he hastens to incorporate in a "second letter," the first having been already sealed, though not sent. In ἡδὴ the Editor expresses his delight at the timely appearance of his fourth document. He is entirely honest in his disclaimer of all originality. He uses recognised formulae of citation. He is on friendly or affectionate terms with the mixed Jew and Gentile community to which he writes; or at least he desires to appear to be on such terms. The Apostle Paul has written a letter to the same address¹; of him and of his writings he speaks in terms of reverence.

In his salutation and doxology he is not ashamed to make use of those of Jude, his predecessor in the "editing" of one of these very documents.

Publication suggests publication. The words of the second Fragment (i. 15) now for the first time made common property, actually seemed to invite a series of Pseudo-Petrine literature². The first writer to take the "irresistible hint" is the author of the "Apocalypse," who makes free but discriminating use of his materials as he finds them in our present 2 Peter. The writers of the "Preaching," the "Gospel," and the "Acts" follow suit—the two latter not in any way quoting or copying 2 Peter, and arising perhaps not in Egypt but in Asia Minor.

Theophilus of Antioch is apparently the first to cite 2 Peter in its present form after the author of the "Apocalypse": from then onwards our Epistle finds

¹ Rome, possibly; but we can never know.

² So Bigg (*op. cit.*), p. 215.

echoes, especially in the Alexandrian Clement. It is received as Canonical first in Egypt. Elsewhere it is looked upon with some suspicion. It is deliberately rejected by the Churches of Syria, possibly as being, in their opinion, a pirated work. It wins its way in the West apparently under the aegis of the "Apocalypse," and is at length grudgingly admitted to have "been proved useful to many." Eusebius perhaps came nearer the mark than he was aware. It was just this element of utility which caused the *Fliegende Blätter* to be preserved, adapted, and at length published. It was in hopes of their "proving useful" that they were originally written; perhaps actually by the Apostle whose name they bear, who "taught as the needs dictated" and left his leaflets to light, like gossamer filaments, where they would.

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